Denis Norrington: When Conservatives & Liberals Fought Communism in Cinemaland

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'Death with Dignity' or 'Duty to Die'?
by George Runner

Public Education *vs.* American Culture
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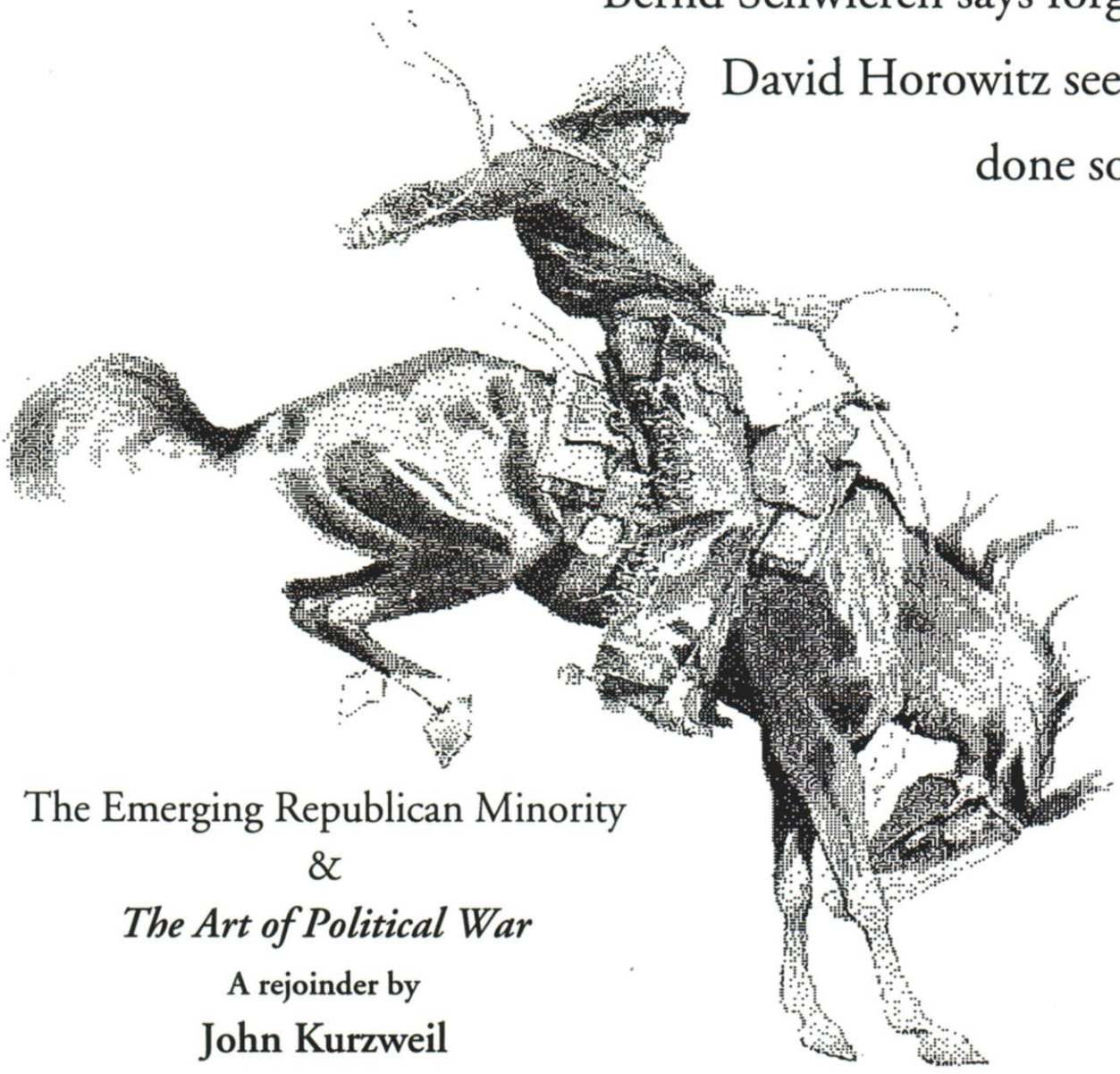
Ronald Who?

Bernd Schwieren says forget Reagan;
David Horowitz seems to have
done so already.



The Emerging Republican Minority
&
The Art of Political War
A rejoinder by
John Kurzweil

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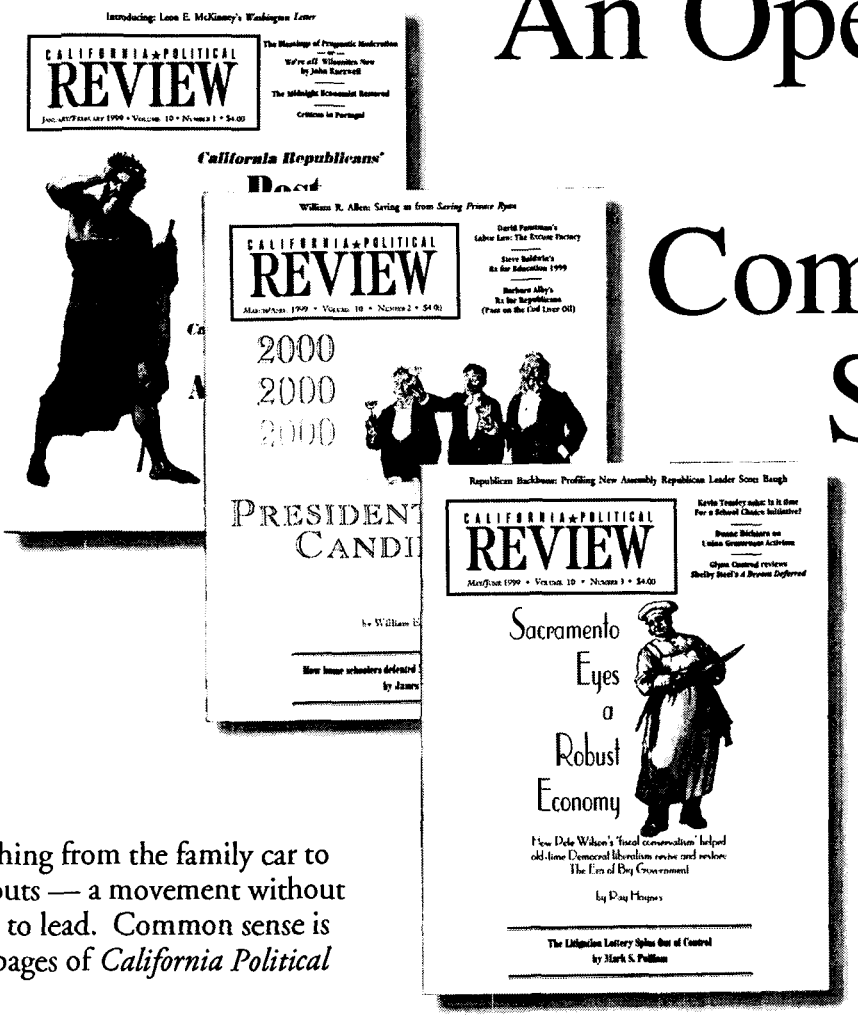
An Opening for Common Sense



"The beginning of political wisdom is the recognition that liberalism is at the end of its intellectual tether."
— Irving Kristol

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CORRESPONDENCE

Schroeder to the Front Lines

Your otherwise very good article about our new Assembly GOP Leader, Scott Baugh ("Republican Backbone," *CPR*, May/June), makes one statement that is dead wrong: "Scott Baugh's long, unflinching battle against Capizzi's relentless prosecutions, with nearly the entire state's political establishment either arrayed against him or cravenly standing on the sidelines, says something about his character."

While it is certainly true that Scott Baugh's unflinching battles show him to be a true hero, you are dead wrong when you say the entire political establishment was either arrayed against him or cravenly standing on the sidelines. In fact, as you know, the California Republican Party formally condemned Michael Capizzi's actions while I was chairman. At a state convention we unanimously passed a resolution demanding Michael Capizzi's resignation and condemned him for abusing his political office for his own personal political gain. In addition, Orange County's entire Republican establishment continued to condemn Michael Capizzi's actions. Congressman Dana Rohrabacher and I repeatedly held press conferences calling to the public's attention each and every action that was outlined in your article. In fact, so that there could be absolutely no doubt about where the California Republican Party stood with relation to Michael Capizzi, when I was chairman, Michael Capizzi was not even allowed into the convention hall, a widely reported fact. How this could be interpreted as the California Republican Party's "cravenly standing on the sidelines" escapes me.

Michael J. Schroeder
Santa Ana

CPR Editor John Kurzweil responds:

Mr. Schroeder mis-states the line from the article that he himself quoted only one sentence earlier: "you are dead wrong when you say the entire political establishment was ..." etc. The article said: nearly *the entire state's political establishment. Thus Mr. Schroeder very-kindly informs us up front of his trustworthiness with facts and what they signify.*

What Mr. Schroeder's tenure as state CRP chairman signifies is slavish devotion to the few at the top of the Party power structure, with no discernible regard for the long-, or even short-, term good of the Party itself. That he helped oppose Capizzi is thus a matter of pure coincidence. It served the interests of the power structure in Orange County (as distinct from the statewide power — mainly Wilson, Lungren, and company — with which our article was concerned at that point) which found itself under direct attack by Capizzi. Had the issue involved merely a matter of bedrock Republican principle and standing with his Party's rank-and-file, it is difficult to imagine Mr. Schroeder doing a thing.

When Mr. Schroeder's services were needed by his Party, which exists to promote a political program, not the convenience of its politicians, he was consistently missing-in-action or in opposition. Just two points of many that could be brought in evidence: huge CRP majorities supported the Unz anti-bilingual education initiative and wanted official CRP opposition to Ron George's retention as state chief justice. Mr. Schroeder did all he could to thwart his Party, succeeding with George, failing with Unz. Mr. Schroeder's Clintonesque duplicity toward the Republican rank-and-file on the George issue, stretching over many months, betrayed the trust of those who elected him chairman. He has yet to show signs of conscience regarding that.

The model for CRP chairman was set by Jim Dignan. Mr. Dignan quietly told Pete Wilson "no" when it was in the Party's interest to do so, and suffered the governor's wrath for his trouble. Alas, Mr. Schroeder's chairmanship reminded no one of Jim Dignan. CRP

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Summertime and the livin' is easy in Sacramento, at least if you are Governor Gray Davis, a Democrat legislator, or a member of the teachers union. If you are a Republican, public school student looking for greener pastures, or an actual live, breathing taxpayer, you know the meaning of living under seige.

Davis and the big spenders convincingly won the battle of the budget, almost without a fight. Democrat legislators find their districts awash in pork. The educrats find their schools awash in money at the same time results are beginning to suggest that the Holy Grail of all this cash — smaller class sizes — does not necessarily translate into improved performance. The CTA bosses give a firm "harrumph" to this data: "Much too early to tell" is their unsurprising response. Of course, we legislators must continue to lavish your money on these union thugs for years, without any questions, or you are obviously "anti-education."

Republican legislators found proposed state projects in their districts were "budget busters," according to the governor, and unceremoniously tossed out via the blue pencil. Students trapped in our woefully underperforming schools found more legislation aimed at closing down charter schools as an alternative, thereby keeping these students enslaved to the CTA and its perpetually sub-par teaching performances. California taxpayers found that the Democrats' description of "tax relief" amounts to less than $500 million in a budget totalling more than $80 billion. This is what the governor means by "governing from the center."

The only humorous side to all this was the pathetic performance of Senate Republicans. While the Assembly GOP did not hold out for long, they did at least try. The pachyderms in the Senate rolled over on the budget for the governor like they had hinges on their heels .... ahem ..... to use a phrase I assume needs no explanation. Events have shown that they did this in order to secure funding for their favorite pork projects in their districts. Governor Davis promptly double-crossed them and slashed most of their projects with the same glee and furor with which he attacked the Assembly GOP wish list.

Honestly, it was funny to watch Republican Senators react with shock — shock — to discover that the governor can't be trusted. Grey Davis acted like a liberal Democract, which of course is exactly what he is. That this came as a surprise to our GOP "leaders" in the state Senate is the truly disheartening note.

Said Senate leadership is also having a tough time recruiting a candidate for its most winnable "pick-up" district, *i.e.*, the one currently held by Democrat Senator Pat Johnston, who is termed out. His southern Sacramento-northern San Joaquin counties districts has been trending Republican.

Board of Equalization member Dean Andal, who represented half the seat in the Assembly, demurred on running so he could concentrate on his race for state controller in 2002. Stockton Mayor Gary Podesta also demurred, though the Senate GOP boys are putting another full court press on him.

They are frantic for a candidate. This district is ripe for the picking, but they will lose it to Democrat Assemblyman Mike Machado unless they have a first-rate candidate.

— A. P. C.

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Call Me Pollyanna

California politics often seems a gloomy science — but not always. Here's some good news.

BY MARK S. PULLIAM

LAST ISSUE, a reader complained that *CPR* was too negative. Believe me, if you think reading about the state of the legal profession is depressing, try writing about it six times a year! But, to show that bright spots *do* exist, this column highlights positive developments in recent months, or encouraging future trends — *not* that the tide has turned in our favor, but journalistic objectivity and thoroughness compel me to note also that justice, reason, and common sense have not (yet) become extinct. Let the good news reported here inspire us to maintain our resolve despite occasional temptation to despair.

In April, securities class action mogul Bill Lerach settled an "abuse of process" lawsuit out of court by paying *$50 million* to Lexecon, Inc., an economics consulting firm he had tried to ruin for testifying against Lerach's clients in a 1988 trial. Lexecon's principal, Daniel Fischel (now dean of the University of Chicago Law School) incurred Lerach's wrath a decade ago by serving as an expert witness for the defense and devastating Lerach's case. The jury in that case ultimately ruled against Lerach, depriving him of what he boasted would be his biggest victory (Lerach was seeking $200 million in damages). Lerach publicly threatened to put Fischel out of business, and nearly did so in 1990 by suing Lexecon as one of 100 defendants in the notorious *Lincoln Savings* case. (Lexecon had done a small amount of work for Lincoln Savings before it collapsed.) Lerach's strategy almost worked. Lexecon went into a tailspin as litigants avoided retaining it due to Lerach's lawsuit. After all, who wants to hire an expert witness accused of securities fraud? Fischel was outraged by Lerach's bullying tactics, and in 1992 he counter-sued for abuse of process, claiming that Lerach's law firm vindictively sued Lexecon to discredit his expert testimony in other cases.

For seven long years, Fischel fought one of the world's richest and most powerful law firms, successfully appealing an unfavorable procedural ruling early in the case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. In April of this year, after a six-week trial in Chicago, a federal court jury deliberated just six hours before ruling against Lerach and his law firm, and awarding Lexecon $45 million in compensatory damages. Overnight, while the jury was getting ready for the punitive damage phase of the trial, Lerach cut a deal and agreed to pay Lexecon a total of $50 million (by the close of business the next day!) and waived his appeal rights in return for Lexecon ending the case prior to the award of punitive damages. These are surrender terms. In a delightful irony, Lerach was apparently worried what a jury would do to him when he was the deep pocket defendant. (According to the *L.A. Times*, since 1988 Lerach's firm "has raked in nearly $700 million in profits. During that same period, Lerach ... took home $100 million," earning as much as $16 million annually.)

WHAT IS the moral of this modern-day David and Goliath tale? That the King of the Strike Suit was humbled in a lawsuit demonstrates that "What goes around, comes around," or "There is a God." More usefully, Lerach's ignominious defeat at the hands of a determined adversary proves that righteous parties can prevail in the civil justice system, even against overwhelming odds. Lerach is not invincible. Class action defendants thinking of settling frivolous lawsuits should recall Daniel Fischel's heroic example and fight on to victory. The power of an extortionist lies in the assurance that the victim will submit. The Israelis figured this out long ago and stopped negotiating with terrorists. The American business community should do likewise.

More good news: polls show Al Gore trailing George

Mark S. Pulliam, California Political Review's *legal issues correspondent, is an attorney in private practice in San Diego.*

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THE FRONT LINE

Local Level Party Building

Duane Dichiara

Recent Democrat endorsements of nonpartisan Los Angeles City Council candidates Alex Padilla and Victor Griego indicated a new California political trend. A federal court struck down Progressive Era prohibitions of Party endorsements in nonpartisan races, freeing Parties to participate in a host of traditionally untouchable local elections.

Democrats understand that by flexing what amounted to very little muscle for Padilla and Griego — helping finance direct mail, public relations, and Get-Out-The-Vote activities in a relatively small area — their Party won two long-term allies. They are building a candidate farm team for partisan seats when they open up.

The nonpartisan endorsement ban was meant to cripple political parties, which built their power in city council and mayoral seats. These fueled grassroots precinct programs and provided jobs for loyal political workers. The new law hit the formerly-powerful Republican machine harder than the Democrats. In fact, Republicans have never really recovered from this and other Progressive era blows. Newspapers and other opinion leaders of the time effectively hammered into the electorate the idea that Republicans running for nonpartisan offices should distance themselves from the GOP. Many neighborhood Republican political organizations, built around local races and lacking close connections with Republicans holding partisan offices, often shrank dramatically or became nonpartisan, evolving into issue-based, and usually less effective, grassroots operations.

Because the "progressive" legislation still allowed union endorsement of nonpartisans, it did not effect the Democrat Party as deeply. Labor unions, which supplied much of the Democrat grassroots effort even then, continued to spend money on the Party's behalf, as in fact they have consistently done in almost every municipal and county election since before the turn of the century. Thus, while local Republican candidates in most urban areas struggled for decades to create new, personally loyal grassroots constituencies, the Democrat/ union machines continued largely unfazed.

This gross disparity, unsurprisingly, has allowed Democrats to hold a disproportionate share of nonpartisan local offices compared to their registration. Even more important, it allowed unions to drive a wedge between Republican nonpartisans and their Party. The Party was in no position to offer direct political benefits while labor unions could withhold contributions if office holders developed strong ties to the GOP.

This influence can be seen in most major cities' council members' staff. Democrat councilmen tend to fill staff positions with Democrats, often Party activists having strong ties to key voting blocks. Republican staff normally includes GOP *and* Democrat members. In major cities, Democrat nonpartisan officials tend to be active Democrats while GOP nonpartisans are really nonpartisan.

So the courts have given Republicans an opportunity. Nonpartisans running for office quickly realize what the Progressives understood: given the option, large numbers of voters will vote along Party lines. Now able to endorse and spend money at the local level, the GOP can rebuild from the ground up. CPR

Duane Dichiara, a land use policy advisor for San Diego County Supervisor Bill Horn, is political director of the Adam Smith Institute.

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W. Bush in the polls for the presidential election next year — badly trailing, by 16 points nationwide if the election were held today. And trailing everywhere, even in Democrat strongholds such as Massachusetts and California. This is important for many reasons, not the least of which is that the next president is likely to appoint three U.S. Supreme Court justices. Chief Justice William Rehnquist, 74, Associate Justice John Paul Stevens, 78, and Associate Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, 68 — a conservative, a liberal, and a moderate, respectively — are all expected to retire during the next President's term. With many key questions of constitutional law these days decided by 5-4 majorities, such as federalism, property rights, religious freedom, and racial quotas, it is critically important that a Republican president appoint justices committed to the rule of law: jurists in the mold of Clarence Thomas and Antonin Scalia who will decide cases based on the Constitution's original intended meaning. If George W. is the GOP nominee, conservative activists must close ranks and support his candidacy, lest Al Gore get elected and appoint more liberal judicial activists such as Ruth Bader Ginsberg. Overturning *Roe v. Wade* is still a possibility, but not under President Gore.

MORE GOOD NEWS: On May 24, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a verdict in favor of a California property owner who was denied the right to build 344 housing units on a 37.6 acre parcel formerly used as a petroleum tank farm. The Dickensian land use approval process that gave rise to this litigation began 18 years ago, in 1981. The City of Monterey repeatedly delayed, denied, and cut back the landowner's application (from 344 to 190 units) on the grounds that the site, currently a littered industrial dump, *might* be a habitat for the endangered Smith's Blue Butterfly, which is found elsewhere in California but has *never* been observed on this property (which the court noted is "quite isolated from other possible habitats of the butterfly"). In 1986, the property owner sued the City in federal court. In 1994, after protracted litigation, a jury award-

WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By WILLIAM E. SARACINO

Facts are inconvenient things, especially for liberals and most especially for the gun-phobics among that left-leaning clan. But facts can be most useful for A) showing up a stupid liberal in debate or B) talking to someone who is actually interested in getting the facts of a situation.

Here is the newest set of interesting, pro-gun factoids, as distributed by the National Center for Crime Statistics:

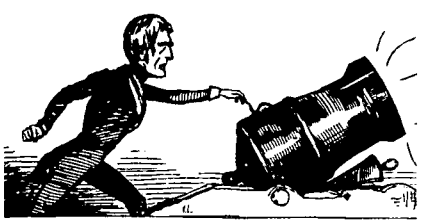
• Your risk of dying in a car crash is roughly 1 in 4,500.

• Your risk of dying in your home from an accident is roughly 1 in 9,000.

• Your risk of being murdered with a firearm is 1 in 16,000.

Of course there are things you can do to raise the odds in your favor in each of these situations. Regarding point three, the main thing you can do to make it unlikely that you become a murder victim is be selective in your friends and acquaintances. The majority of homicides involve one low-life killing another. Sixty-one percent of victims and 77 percent of the murderers involved in those one in 16,000 murders-with-a-gun had prior criminal records. *Ergo,* if you don't have a criminal record, the odds of your demise being brought on by a firearm is actually about *one in 40,000!*

To put it in numbers even a liberal could understand, in 1997 15,551 Americans were killed by firearms, compared to the 28,400 who died as a result of home accidents and 43,200 who were killed by automobiles. As a little perspective, consider that 88,000 of our fellow citizens died of pneumonia or the flu that same year.



Deaths from firearms — including murder, accidents, and suicides — come to almost exactly 1 percent of the annual deaths in our country. Crisis indeed. CPR

William E. Saracino is executive director of Gunowners of California.

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LEGISLATIVE FILE

Anti-Second Amendment: Governor Gray Davis will be confronted with eight to 10 anti-Second Amendment bills all intended to criminalize honest citizens' exercise of their constitutional right to self-defense through gun-ownership — not helpful to Davis' efforts to maintain a moderate image. So the governor will sign two to four of them.

The worst include: **AB 202** (Knox-D, Los Angeles), a constitutional-rights-rationing measure, limits gun purchases to one-a-month. Like all anti-gun bills, no one seriously expects it to have any significant impact on crime. Its purpose is to train Californians to accept arbitrary, even idiotic constrictions imposed on them by the state without whimpering.

SB 23 (Perata-D, Oakland) outlaws flintlocks, if they meet certain cosmetic criteria having nothing to do with how they operate as a gun, as "assault weapons."

SB 15 (Polanco-D, Los Angeles), another lies-in-packaging measure, tells us we may not own "unsafe, cheap, junk" handguns, which it defines to include various models in the $2,000-plus range made by Glock, the Cadillac of gun makers. Most of the weapons affected cost $300 or more and are quite safe.

Unions: Continuing to repay unions for campaign megabucks, the Assembly Democrat majority defeated Republican efforts to maintain the freedom of flexible workweek scheduling for 8 million working families. **AB 60** (Knox), if signed into law, will impose one of the nation's

most draconian work scheduling regimes on the 85 percent of Californians who do not belong to unions. Forty-seven states and the federal government permit the flexible 40-hour work week. California will mandate a rigid 8-hour day.

Assembly Republicans issued a statement saying "the bill sets up complex procedures for creating alternative schedules or making up time for family purposes. An employee who wishes to work late one day in order to take personal time on another day will have to be paid overtime pay for his or her extra hours."

The bill "limits available make-up time to a one-week window, and in all other cases repeals the existing rights of individual workers and employers to work out flexible work arrangements on their own." Governor Davis is expected to sign the bill.

Anti-family: Scheduled for Senate committee consideration at press time, AB 1363 (Davis-D, San Diego) would drive a wedge between parents and their public school-attending children. The bill facilitates establishment and expansion of campus offices that encourage sexual promiscuity, birth control, and abortion without parental consent. Schools would be required to provide pregnancy tests, prescriptions, commonly-used "medications," "individual health education and anticipatory guidance" — urging abortions — and "linkages and referrals to primary care providers" — putting pregnant children in touch with abortionists and, if necessary, taking them there.

Unconstitutional California Supreme Court decisions force taxpayers to pay for abortions and repealed laws requiring parental consent before abortions are performed on minor children. The Ron George Court also bans parental notification. CPR

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ed the property owner $1.45 million, finding that the denial of land use approval constituted a "regulatory taking" of all economically viable use of the property. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the verdict and, more importantly, by a 5-4 vote recognized property owners' right to a jury trial on the issue of liability in such cases under the Seventh Amendment. Juries have traditionally been limited to deciding *damages* in "takings" cases; thus, this case is a landmark decision for property rights. Juries, better than judges, can decide if whimsical (or, as in this case, farcical) invocation of "environmental" concerns justify trampling individual property rights. This may seem like an unremarkable decision, but consider that it took a dedicated property owner *18 years* to receive such a modest vindication of his rights, and even then by a narrow 5-4 vote.

MORE GOOD NEWS: On May 26, California's Sixth District Court of Appeal overturned San Jose's minority and female "outreach" program for government contractors on the grounds that it constituted "preferential treatment" of the type prohibited by Proposition 209, the initiative passed by California voters in November 1996. The San Jose program required bidders seeking city contracts either to include a specified percentage of minority- or female-owned subcontractors in their bids or document their attempt to do so by writing letters to such firms and making follow-up calls. Bidders who failed (or declined) to take such measures (even if, as in this case, it was due to the bidder's desire to perform the work without subcontractors) were in effect presumed to be guilty of discrimination! In the first case to interpret Proposition 209 since its passage, the three-judge panel unanimously concluded that the San Jose ordinance violated the California Constitution because, although the program was labeled "outreach," it in fact served as a preference for minority- and female-owned firms. San Jose's program was a quota measure in disguise. Proposition 209, the court held, "refers to any kind of treatment favoring one group or individual over another," regardless of labels. Applying the clear and controlling language of Proposition 209 without flinching, the court concluded with these words:

> However desirable the City's efforts to eradicate discrimination, they may not contravene the intent of the voters as expressed in the plain language of this provision. *Because minority- and women-owned businesses enjoy special treatment under the Program, they receive an advantage over other businesses. Such advantage is prohibited under the broad terms of [Proposition 209].* The superior court correctly ruled that the Program is unconstitutional. (Emphasis added.)

The San Jose program was challenged by an unsuccessful low bidder represented by the Pacific Legal Foundation. Congratulations PLF! San Jose was supported by several so-called civil rights groups, such as the ACLU. Isn't victory sweet?

More good news: on May 17, a federal court in New York rejected a proposed shareholder class action settlement and request for $200,000 in plaintiffs' attorneys' fees on the ground that the deal conferred no benefit on the class members. The court astutely identified the little-discussed reality of class action litigation: that it is a shakedown principally (and often exclusively) benefitting the attorneys representing the purported "class." The defendants almost always settle and are happy to pay "tribute" in the form of attorneys' fees to the class "representative" in order to obtain prompt and certain termination of the litigation, with lower overall legal expenses. ("Loser pays" would fundamentally change the dynamic by making defense costs recoverable in meritless cases.) Here, as in most cases, the defendant paying the tribute didn't object to the plaintiffs' attorneys' fees request; nevertheless, settlement of a class action requires court approval, which is normally a formality. Not this time. On her own initiative, Judge Shira Scheindlin rejected the settlement with this cogent analysis:

> [T]his settlement has earmarks of a non-arm's length, "politely" collusive settlement; one providing a nonpecuniary benefit of very little value to shareholders and a fairly substantial award of attorney's fees to plaintiff's counsel for a modest amount of work. Many courts and commentators have described the danger of a conflict of interest between plaintiffs' counsel in a class action suit and their clients — the class members they represent — namely, the temptation of class counsel to sacrifice procuring value for the class in exchange for maximizing attorney's fees .... *A practice of rubber stamping settlements of dubious merit that give attorneys significant fee awards but do not require defendants to contribute anything will, in the long run, encourage the filing of more frivolous suits.* (Emphasis added.)

Consequently, the court wasn't going to permit larceny even if the "victim" didn't complain. If this happened more often, class action litigation would dry up.

In sum: our side is not losing every battle, all the time. There are rays of hope, in California and across the land. Let us take comfort — and strength — from these victories, even as we gird ourselves for the larger battle — one in which our opponents currently have the advantage. We shall overcome! CPR

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Renewing the Faith

Awful spring gives way to hopeful June: Mayor Brown uno *(Jerry) helps deflate CTA; Mayor Brown* duo *(Willie) hears boos as re-election time approaches.*

TIM W. FERGUSON

CALIFORNIA'S NEWSPAPERS renewed their faith in gun laws and litigation during the awful spring.

♣ ♣ ♣

The papers also got around to covering AB 842, the teacher union's attempt to smother charter schools with a closed shop. Exposed to the light of day, and to the vociferous objections of charter parents (and Oakland Mayor Jerry Brown, their ally), the bill was deep-sixed in favor of less onerous legislation. In Silicon Valley, where discontent with the quality of public-school instruction seems most acute, even the free weekly *Metro* was performing yeoman's service, smoking out local Assembly Democrats on the issue. It found John Dutra and Elaine Alquist voting to pass the bill out of committee and then offering excuses why they didn't really mean it. Ted Lempert was similarly equivocal. But give reliable union hand Mike Honda credit for consistency: he was with the closed shop all the way. Come 2000, might a technology entrepreneur think even a — gasp! — religious conservative a better vote in the Legislature than this CTA slave?

♣ ♣ ♣

AB 842's author, the doctrinaire Carole Migden, was on to bigger things, toying with a run for San Francisco mayor. Perhaps as Willie Brown's re-election bid kicks in this fall, readers beyond the Bay will learn how stunningly unpopular Da Mayor is among his constituents. The local press noted how he was booed during the annual Carnival parade — which, granted, takes place in some of the working class areas where his act is least well received these days. But all around town, there are beefs about the lousy Muni train service and about the resurgent homeless presence. Seems Willie has had a tough time serving all his interest groups at one time: the big developers and corporate execs, the public-employee unions, the lefty lobbies and the neighborhood preservationists. Pretty soon the *San Francisco Chronicle* will be the only friend the guy's got, outside of his haberdasher. Even with barbs coming from all sides, however, his fund-raising prowess promises to make any challenge to him difficult. But at least the flak keeps him hunkered down and less of a "national figure."

♣ ♣ ♣

Much ink was spilled over Gray Davis' punt on the appeal of Proposition 187's constitutionality, but the issue of welfare and public services for immigrants legal and otherwise seems to have been settled regardless. Gray Davis and other Democrats decided to spend the money. The press has duly reported this, and there's been little uproar. The conventional wisdom is that, with the economy booming, reluctance to subsidize noncitizens has largely evaporated. This is a ripe subject for serious surveying. The curious thing — also adequately reported — is that the U.S. government is devoting increased resources to keeping illegals from crossing the Mexican border even as public benefits are liberalized for those already here.

♣ ♣ ♣

Fannie Mae, the federal government-guaranteed mortgage lender, is now also supporting qualified, struggling immigrants. To much press fanfare, it announced a $16 billion push to bring home ownership to low-income residents of the insanely expensive Bay Area. Such programs at the bottom end of the housing chain of course undergird the incredible prices at the high end, as existing owners move up. But there's one good thing to say about the general level of that region's home sales and costs: they're fostering the advertisements that back a rarity in the U.S., the free *Palo Alto Daily News*. It's got a smidgen of real local news in it. In fact, it is just the biggest step toward what looks increasingly to be the future of the general-interest press: it will cost nothing (or next to that) to read. That's already the norm on the Web, and among the

Tim W. Ferguson is California Political Review's *press critic.*

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vibrant urban weeklies, and the big dailies in California have gravitated back down to 25 cents. Maybe this will encourage more people to read what's in print. This might occasionally be a good thing.

♣ ♣ ♣

Knight-Ridder, owners of the *San Jose Mercury News*, belittles Dean Singleton's East Bay papers that compete with others there that K-R acquired. Singleton's operation is accused of lacking integrity in separating editorial from advertising. But Knight may have use for Demon Dean. If it succeeds in getting its hands on the *San Francisco Chronicle*, which is being put up for sale, it may need to show federal trust busters that it is not wiping out competition in the Bay Area.

Oh, yeah. The feisty *Examiner* is still around, for now. Edited by Mr. Sharon Stone, no less.

♣ ♣ ♣

When the state Department of Education finally acknowledged that its dropout statistics were bogus — and have been, going back to Bill Honig's reign — lazy mainstream media caught up with a fact that conservative critics had long asserted (see *CPR*, January/February 1999, "The Front Line"). Reporters were still slow to examine the breakdown of the numbers to discover that Asian-heritage students (including Filipinos) have decidedly higher high-school graduation rates than other ethnic groups, including "whites." So, yes, the schools are failing, but a lot of kids succeed regardless.

♣ ♣ ♣

If Pete Wilson really believes the views he voiced from 1993 on, why does George Skelton keep writing columns in the *Los Angeles Times* saying the following: But for the recession at the beginning of Wilson's governorship and the tax increases that put him on the outs with the right, Pete wouldn't have spent the next six years making like he was a conservative. He would have been free to govern as the moderate progressive he really is. And the second question is: Given that Skelton keeps writing this — in effect, confirming that Wilson is the opportunist that his critics (left and right) have long accused him of being — why does Pete keep talking to the columnist?

♣ ♣ ♣

Last time, we noted that the *Times* local columnists were oblivious to Mayor Richard Riordan's remarkable reform-slate move to take over the Los Angeles city school board. Now that the reformers have won the pivotal seat in a runoff — defeating Maxine Waters' soulmate on the board, Barbara Boudreaux — the devil must be given its due. The columnists hardly improved their act, but the *Times*' editorials were direct and hard-hitting all along: Boudreaux and the other status-quo incumbents must go. And they have gone.

♣ ♣ ♣

What Sacramento needs is a good gossip columnist (apologies to the *CPR's Spectator*). Most of the press corps probably knows the constant romantic intrigue in the Capitol, but is above reporting it. But when a state constitutional officer and a leading legislator are involved both professionally and personally, might this border on legitimate news? CPR

THE MIDNIGHT ECONOMIST

Economics and the College Generation

Besieged in the UCLA economics department, our mild-mannered professor insists education requires more than training and training means more than performing tricks.

WILLIAM R. ALLEN

The class will come to order. Listen carefully. First, we will review the essence of "the economic problem," fondly referred to as price-and-allocation analysis. Then, there will be a brief but shrewd examination to see if you have been paying attention. Finally, we will have a bit of reflection on the academic situation.

WE STUDY economics because of the fiasco in the Garden of Eden. Ever since the indiscretion of Eve and her friend with the resident serpent, we have confronted *scarcity*. We cannot produce enough to satisfy fully all the wants of all the people all the time.

Scarcity carries with it several fundamental implica-

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tions. Scarcity gives rise to *competition* and *conflict.* Adaptation to scarcity entails making *choices* — what and how shall we *produce* in what relative amounts? how do we *distribute* the resulting output? Making choices — giving up a bit of this to get more of that — means, by definition, to bear *costs.* To get greatest output for a given cost (or minimize cost for a given output) requires *coordination* in efficient use of our scarce resources.

All economies face these problems, questions, and requirements. But there are many alternative ways to adjust to scarcity. What are the ground rules of a society, and how are they determined and made effective? With what institutions, property rights, processes, and mores will a community confront scarcity? There are choices to consider and decisions to be made. Who is to make the choices and decisions and through what procedures, subject to what oversight and constraints?

In large part, the world's peoples over the ages have not done well in developing means through which self-centered, aggressive people can live in limited but attainable civility and prosperity. But some societies have done much better than others. For 6,000 years of recorded history, the story has been basically one of tyranny and poverty. But there have been a few comparative oases of poise, prudence, and productivity.

Most of us in the Western tradition infer that those societies have done best in promoting the human condition which have relied most basically on individual initiative and decisionmaking. Indeed, we *define* economic efficiency in terms of allocating resources in accordance with revealed individual preferences. Such efficiency requires exercise of *private* rights to use of property, made effective by largely uninhibited actions of free men in open markets. The market's pricing mechanism makes it feasible to register preferences and to calculate costs, allowing us to adapt best (even if not absolutely well) to the miserable world of scarcity. Decisions of both suppliers and demanders are made rationally in light of relative market prices. And the prospect of net returns ("profits") provides both an engine and a rudder, both incentive and guidance, in use of resources.

THAT IS the core and major message of my Economics 1, an introductory survey of Truth. At the end of a recent term, the final examination contained a section of true-and-false questions. Here are a few of those questions and the responses of the elite class.

1. "Most goods are not free to most people under most circumstances because business is operated for profit." Nearly 61 percent of the class answered True.

2. "Most goods are not free to most people under most circumstances because most property is privately owned." Over 54 percent answered True.

3. "Invented technology, accumulated capital, endowments of natural resources are critical in determining how well we live; but the human condition is a function also of our goodness, grace, and gentility." More than 44 percent answered False.

4. "One can imagine an economy of efficient coordination with little central direction, but this would require — entirely unrealistically — people to be near-angels, unselfish, and eager to help one another." Almost 38 percent answered True.

5. "History amply illustrates the terror and tyranny which can be generated by a police state; but coercion can be imposed by the state through economic intrusions and domination as well as by physical pressure." False, according to 28 percent.

HOW TO account for such massive nonsense and naivete, such ignoring of what had been taught in the course through reading and lectures? One expects such misdirection and ineptitude in many editorial writers and political sorts, but surely not in UCLA customers who have had access to my instruction and guidance.

But what students are taught and what they vacuously believe and presume can be in fundamental conflict. Are these selected young people simple-minded? A few may be, but most are well enough endowed to learn at the college level. And, indeed, many do learn some sorts of material, *viz.,* mechanical, formalistic doodling — but they have enormous difficulty in developing any feel for using the procedures to solve real problems and get an appreciation of how the actual world works.

Mark Twain observed that his wife had learned most of the swear words, but not how to carry the tune. In economics, students learn to recite terminology and definitions, to manipulate mathematical techniques, and to follow memorized procedures to deduce answers to test questions. But many hardly try to conceptualize, synthesize, and generalize; they have gained virtually no erudition or perspective; they are inarticulate and illiterate; they have no developed wisdom or insightfulness or sense of the wholeness and evolution of any part of their world; they are utterly lacking in analytical intuition, feel for causal relations, and intellectual flair.

One looks for signs of budding sophistication and professionalism in the young people. The signs are not numerous and conspicuous. We are confronted by a crisis of the campus. CPR

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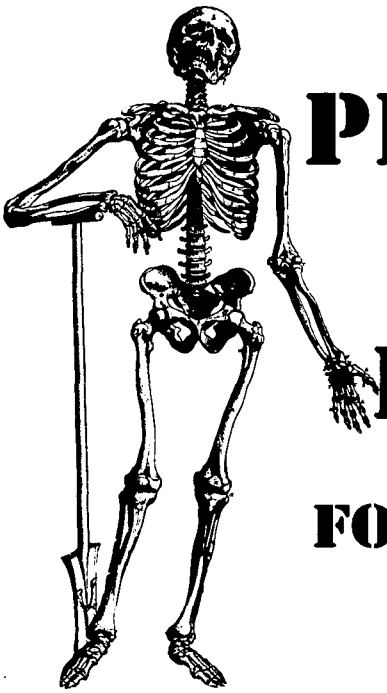

PRESCRIPTION OF DEATH

FOR 'LESS USEFUL' LIVES

Every medical profession opposes AB 1592. If it passes, prepare to see physician-assisted suicide in our state combine with managed care to transform 'death with dignity' into 'duty to die.'

GEORGE RUNNER

An earnest debate has begun in the California Legislature over physician-assisted suicide sparked by the introduction of Assembly Bill 1592 (Aroner, D-Berkeley). While this measure is born out of a sincere interest to help suffering people, it does so in the worst possible way. The negative ramifications of implementing the Death Act outweigh the purported "benefits" argued by its proponents. Despite the myths perpetuated by supporters, physician-assisted suicide affects the wellbeing of our entire society. The "Death with Dignity" proposal leads our society down the dangerous slippery slope of euthanasia, fosters an ethic of dehumanization and desensitization, and undermines the positive accomplishments made by California to address the issue of individuals suffering from pain. The "Death with Dignity" Act is the typical liberal feel-good solution, avoiding the crux of the problem while harming the entire society.

Despite the liberal hullabaloo of an individual's "right to die," the legalization of physician-assisted suicide would in reality create enormous pressures upon the elderly, disabled, and the terminally ill not to "linger" too long — to end their lives prematurely. How could the "right to die" conceivably evolve into a "duty to die"? Shortly after the passage of Oregon's "Death with Dignity" Act, the *Hastings Center Report,* a venerable medical ethics journal, featured bioethics Professor Dr. John Hardwig strongly advocating the duty to die — even if the ill patient desired to live. Dr. Hardwig even specifies criterion for determining when one's life is no longer worth living. The danger of this mind set is sobering: society would be telling people when they need to die. Far from the so-called personal choice to die, the legal-

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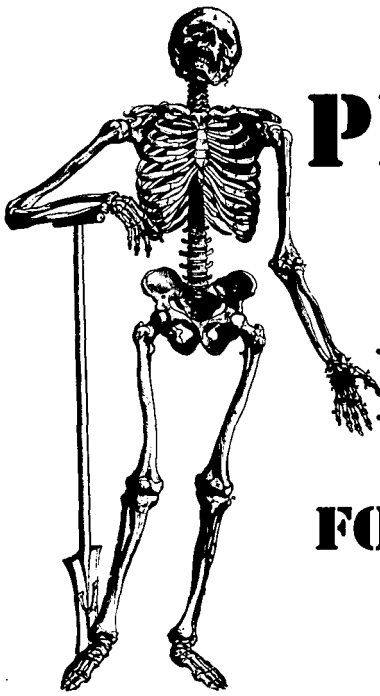

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ization of physician-assisted suicide would essentially become a dictate of death for anyone society deems to have lived a "full life."

Your duty to die becomes a distinct possibility when physician-assisted suicide is combined with our current system of managed care; and like gasoline and fire, this concoction of managed care and managed death is an explosive combination. With death as a viable medical option, physician-assisted suicide provides Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs) with an enticing incentive to slash health care costs by eliminating those whom the HMOs feel will not be living much longer. Physician-assisted death, thus, would provide HMOs with a greater impetus to limit life-prolonging alternatives by denying payment for expensive or "unnecessary" procedures and by pressuring sick patients and their families to accept the death prescription. This may sound farfetched, but it is a disturbing reality. While discussing the recently-passed Oregon "right to die" law, a spokesman for QualMed Oregon Health Plan confirmed that they would cover lethal medications "as a prescription," while their "value option" plan limits hospice care to $1,000.

Even more frightening is the prospect that the incessant quest to reduce health care costs and free-up hospital resources would drive doctors to euthanize their patients without their consent. As the law is drafted, medical practitioners are not readily accountable for their actions. Doctors wield tremendous control over the destiny of their patients; they ultimately file the reporting paperwork and prescribe our treatments. Coupled with pressure from HMOs who see the bottom-line as cost savings, doctors will face tremendous pressure to dispose with a costly patient. Doctors who feel the need to "relieve the pain" for a patient in agony will also have an impetus to carry out their so-called "humanitarian" efforts. In the Netherlands, it is relatively common for doctors to hasten the death of their ill patients. In some instances, citizens are afraid to seek treatment for their ailments, worrying that they will only receive a surprise prescription of death. Analysts suggest that even in Oregon there is a strong possibility that involuntary euthanasia occurs unreported.

We place a tremendous amount of trust in our doctors; our lives literally rest in their hands. We expect them to help us whenever possible, but with the legalization of euthanasia and the ensuing pressure to cut costs and free up resources, we risk jeopardizing that trust. Derek Humphrey, a leading proponent of euthanasia, has released a book entitled *Freedom to Die*, in which he admits cost containment is an ultimate goal:

> A rational argument can be made for allowing [assisted suicide] in order to offset the amount society and family spend on the ill, as long as it is the voluntary wish of the mentally competent terminally ill adult .... The hastened demise of people with only a short time left would free up resources for others. Hundreds of billions of dollars could benefit those patients who not only can be cured but who want to live.

Just think of all the money that could be saved by HMOs if they were spared the expense of treating AIDS victims or the disabled, many of whom could easily be classified as "terminally ill." This is precisely the reason that nine national disability-rights organizations have come out strongly against legalizing assisted suicide and none support it.

Physician-assisted suicide risks legalized murder in the name of the almighty dollar.

In the wake of the Columbine High School tragedy, citizens have attempted to understand how a child could commit such an egregious act of violence. Obviously, these disturbed teenagers did not regard life highly; these maniacs viewed human life as expendable and worthless, laughing as they murdered their fellow schoolmates. Almost all of us are aghast that a fellow human would lose all deference for life and would engage in such senseless killings. Nonetheless, supporters of the "Death with Dignity" Act

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continue to campaign vehemently for the dehumanization of life.

The implicit message of The Death Act is outrageous. It teaches us that some lives are more important than others and that individuals with disabilities are worth little. The Death Act teaches that life should not be cherished, but discarded like an old rag doll that has outlived its usefulness. It is not surprising that these destructive messages are creating a generation of desensitized individuals. How can we teach the value of human life while concurrently perpetuating the ideal that human beings are discardable? The systematic dehumanization must stop. We must end these contradictory signals, starting with the defeat of The Death Act, or our society will undoubtedly continue to grapple with tragic occurrences similar to the catastrophic rampage at Columbine.

Advocates of physician-assisted suicide argue for an Oregon-style "right to die" law based on the issue of untreated pain. What these advocates seem to miss is that suicide is not a "treatment" for pain, or any other problem. Physician-assisted suicide advocates argue that pain cannot be treated, therefore individuals suffering from pain need the option of physician-assisted suicide. However, even in the extreme cases such as terminal cancer, pain can be treated with viable pain management therapy. For advocates of physician-assisted suicide to use individuals in pain as motivation for leading Californians down this dangerous road — a path that every medical profession in our state opposes — is foolhardy at best.

Rather than encourage death, California should help treat the pain of our ill citizens. Significant strides have been made to address the serious issue of under-treated pain, and the Legislature is committed to continue working on this important policy area. In 1997, the Legislature passed and the governor signed into law the Pain Patient's Bill of Rights. This law gives patients suffering intractable pain the right to take opiate pain medication in whatever dosages and method of administration is necessary to relieve pain, rather than subject themselves to surgeries or implants. Furthermore, in 1998, two laws were enacted that enabled the terminally ill to have greater access to pain medications and reduced the inefficiency of the triplicate prescription process for these individuals. Those suffering from a terminal illness are now no longer subject to long delays in approval of their non-formulary medications. They are also exempt from requirements that their Schedule II prescriptions be made in triplicate and routed through the Department of Justice. Studies show that dying people are not at risk for addiction even to highly addictive painkillers. Finally, the California Medical Association successfully amended the law relative to continuing education requirements for physicians to include courses on individuals and their families facing end-of-life issues. These can include courses addressing pain and symptom management, the psychosocial dynamics of death, dying and bereavement, and hospice care.

While voters in Oregon narrowly approved physician-assisted suicide, California has been making great strides to ensure that pain medication and alternative treatments are readily accessible to patients in pain. We have also moved to ensure that doctors who lawfully prescribe appropriate dosages of medications do not have to fear the wrath of law enforcement officials intent upon waging the war on drugs. However, if we legalize physician-assisted suicide, what incentive will remain to provide hospice care and further treat the pain of the terminally ill? Legalizing physician-assisted suicide would shift us from preserving life to decreeing death.

The fate of the physician-assisted suicide issue now rests on the shoulders of the California Legislature. A handful of votes can influence the outcome, and with their decision, the integrity of the medical profession and our society will also be determined. California can either take a stand for the worth of human life and continue developing treatments for Californians in pain, or de-emphasize human life and authorize HMO administrators to end lives in order to bolster their bottom line. The path of death is dangerous; we should beware of embracing it. CPR

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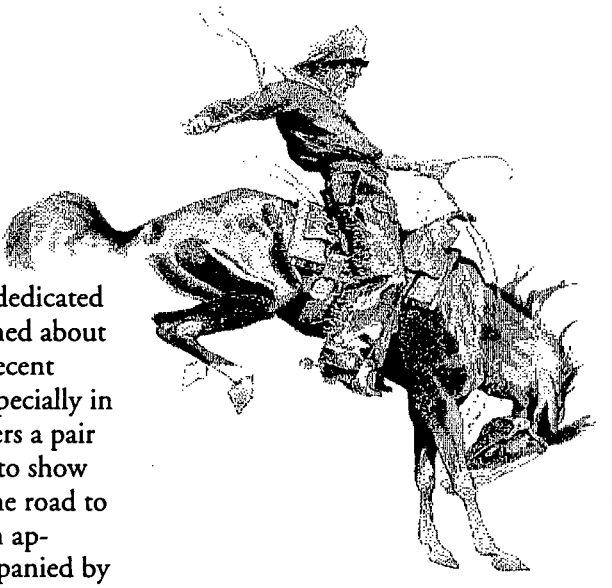
A rejoinder to: The Emerging Republican Minority & *The Art of Political War*

Ronald Who?

Mr. Schwieren says forget Reagan; Mr. Horowitz seems to have done so already.



By John Kurzweil

IMAGINE AN honest, dedicated Republican, concerned about his, or her, Party's recent electoral reverses, especially in California, who encounters a pair of recent tracts intended to show the GOP its errors and the road to recovery. The first, which appeared last March accompanied by an unusually heavy dose of media hoopla, is "The Emerging Republican Minority: California's New Electorate and the Future of the Republican Party," a 53-page report by Bernd Schwieren, identified in one news report (of March 20) as a "GOP consultant" and "a staff researcher for the Assembly Republican Caucus" and in another (on April 20) as "a young German-born political scientist ... a man [California Senate GOP Caucus Chairman Jim] Brulte had hired from Jack Kemp's office for the Assembly Republican staff."

The second is *The Art of Political War, How Republicans Can Fight to Win,* a 48-page booklet by David Horowitz, a *CPR* contributor and former member of our editorial board, well-known and widely respected as the head of The Center for the Study of Popular Culture, the author of several books including *Destructive Generation* and the autobiographical *Radical Son,* and editor of the magazines *Heterodoxy* and *FrontPage,* an online publication (www.frontpagemag.com). Horowitz's booklet came to me with a laudatory letter from California Republican Party Vice Chairman Shawn Steel who says Horowitz offers a "winning vision" that, "as we advance our pro-freedom message ... will help us to understand the formula for victory." Steel enclosed an envelope to be used for ordering up to 100 copies of the booklet.

If Republicans are finally looking critically at their political strategies after a decade made up mostly of defeats, it is good news — considering how often in the past they have resembled the American high school students described by Bill Bennett who score lowest on international academic exams but first internationally on self-esteem. But what does our honest Republican find when he examines these two treatises?

BEGINNING WITH Mr. Schwieren's effort, he reads on the first page of the introduction that Dan Lungren lost because he followed "a strategy developed over thirty years ago by Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan" in which he "tried to use the issues of abortion, Catholicism, law & order, and traditional values to win Reagan Democrats," voters that "no longer existed in sufficient numbers to win the election." Mr. Schwieren possesses keen insight indeed if he can discern anything remotely so neat and tidy in the Lungren cam-

John Kurzweil is CPR's *editor. This article reflects his views and not necessarily those of anyone else associated with* California Political Review.

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paign, usually considered among history's most chaotic and message-less. His campaign's "strategy" on Dan's prolife position and his Catholicism appeared to follow liberal consultant Tony Quinn's advice, marginalizing and "de-fusing" them as quaint, harmless "cultural" artifacts, without serious political implications. This waffling was typical, and typically disastrous. "The abortion issue cuts in the following way," said Democrat consultant Gary South in a post-election round-table discussion. "You can't try to split the hairs on this issue. That's what Republicans can't get through their head. You're either pro-choice or you're not .... If you're not, say it. If you are, say it. But don't try to split the hairs because it doesn't work and it's self-defeating." And fellow-Democrat Susan Kennedy added, "In the five years I spent in the pro-choice movement, the most vulnerable position you can be in is on the fence." In other words, it was precisely his attempt to back-peddle, to "soften" his position, following the advice of liberal Republicans like Mr. Schwieren and Mr. Quinn, that did Lungren in. In 1982, following the real Reagan-Democrat strategy, Ronald Reagan spoke this way about abortion: "Simple morality dictates that unless and until someone can prove the unborn human is not alive, we must give it the benefit of the doubt and assume it is. And, thus, it should be entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

WITH REFERENCE to campaign strategy, the point here is less about abortion, which has never been a major issue with more than about one voter in six, than about leadership. Nobody wants to follow an unsteady hand or, worse, a candidate obviously tailoring his message not to state his position forthrightly but merely to tell people what he thinks they want to hear. Yet that is exactly what Lungren tried to do, achieving that breathtaking synthesis of arrogance with muddle-headedness that was the Lungren image. "When we focus-grouped [Lungren's] spots," said consultant Gary South, "one guy said — and this was very indicative of the manner that he projected ... one guy said, you know, every time I see him on TV, he looks to me like he's reaching out through the screen, grabbing me by the throat and saying, now listen up, dummy, and I'll tell you this one more time and get it through your fat head." If Lungren reminded Mr. Schwieren of Ronald Reagan, it was an impression shared by few.

Suppose we consider an alternative hypothesis: since 1988, statewide Republican candidates *abandoned* Ronald Reagan's true strategy for one radically different.

Beyond this, one suspects our astute Republican reader would consider Mr. Schwieren's characterization of the "Reagan-Democrat" strategy a trifle superficial: "abortion, Catholicism, law & order, and traditional values." Reagan told Democrats the reasons he had left his old Party. It had wandered into radical anti-American pessimism, spilling vitriol on everything from the flag to the police to religion to the family to American history and the military while romanticizing every murdering thug from Southeast Asia to Cuba to the Middle East to Moscow, excusing the Berlin Wall, staging campus riots, and abandoning the economic dreams of ordinary Americans to build a bureaucratic nightmare of government waste and arrogance. This alien Democrat Party had left Reagan. Millions of Democrats agreed it had left them as well.

That was the Reagan-Democrat strategy, and Lungren could have followed it on bilingual education, a ready-made contemporary issue, but did not. He not only failed to follow it, Mr. Schwieren's assertions to the contrary notwithstanding, he very publicly opposed the initiative that has already done so much to lift this typical left-radical horror from the backs of Latino Democrats. Given Mr. Schwieren's casual handling of facts, our hopeful Republican reader might perhaps begin to think it fortuitous that he chose to become a "political scientist"rather than a rocket scientist.

Mr. Schwieren next provides data purporting to show that California is increasingly turning away from Reaganesque conservatism and that, to survive, Republicans had better turn away also. Their failure to do so, he argues, is to blame for declines in GOP registration and turn-out, more voters calling themselves "moderate" in 1998, *and* the "gender gap." He says California's electorate is becoming better educated, wealthier, and more Latino, each trend moving the state to the left.[1]

Musing on all this, our diligent Republican reader might observe

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that Mr. Schwieren's "findings" on registration, turn-out, and ideological self-identification are predicated and rely absolutely upon two major unproven assumptions:

1) that Lungren and most Republican candidates this decade (including those running for president) campaigned in California employing Ronald Reagan's strategy for victory and,

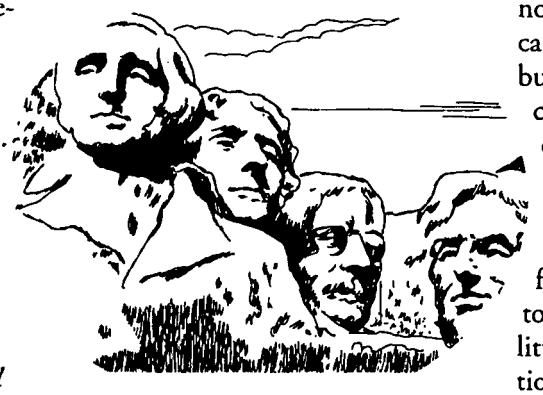
2) that this strategy consisted primarily of appealing to "Reagan Democrats" on a prolife, traditional values, and law and order platform.

But suppose, being good political scientists, we consider an alternative hypothesis:

1) that since 1988, statewide Republican candidates *abandoned* Ronald Reagan's true strategy for one radically different,

2) that whereas Reagan was trusted because he was sincere in offering a real alternative to liberal/left orthodoxy, his Republican successors have actually offered no such alternative, instead cynically and condescendingly mouthing conservative-sounding phrases like "read my lips, no new taxes," and then tripping over themselves to govern like liberals, betraying the voters who believed them, so that

3) the electorate now holds a radically different idea of Republican politicians than it held of Reagan, that, in fact, these Republicans are Reagan's polar opposites in voters' minds: opportunistic liars primarily if not solely concerned with their own career advancement and quite happy to play on voters' innocent trust, hoping it lasts at least until election day, and then playing politics-as-usual with Democrats afterwards.



Do the George Bush 1988/89 betrayal on taxes and the national revulsion it engendered fit this hypothesis? Did not Bob Dole's transparently false 1996 conservative campaign platform contradict most if not all of his many decades in public life? Did he not find that when he promised tax cuts it did not help his campaign, not because tax cuts were out of favor, but because no one believed Dole could be trusted to cut them if elected? Were not John Seymour's, Michael Huffington's, and Matt Fong's senatorial campaigns plainly Hollywood false-front affairs, constructed solely to cover candidacies propelled by little more than personal ambition?[2] Is not Pete Wilson's whole career universally recognized as one, long exercise in political opportunism? The answers to each question obviously being yes, I say that a deep distrust of Republican candidates would certainly drive down Party registration and turn-out. And if conservatives tire of being lied to, betrayed, or just plain ignored by their false standard-bearers and so stay home, is

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1. From a variety of angles, Mr. Schwieren's data show Republican voter registrations and turn-out dropping and that "there was a major shift in the ideological composition of the [1998] electorate — it had a much more Moderate to Liberal orientation than the 1994 electorate." Mr. Schwieren points out that higher income voters are increasing as a share of the California electorate and that in 1998 they "voted more Democratic in both California and nationally." He adds that more voters are better educated, observing that "the 18% increase (from 44% to 52%) in the number of voters with a college and/or postgraduate degree is matched by the 19% decreases (from 36% to 29%) of self-identified conservative voters. This suggests a linkage between the two factors." These more educated voters, he says, "have a more tolerant view on social issues — abortion, gay rights, school prayer — and are not receptive to a moralistic message."

Latinos have increased dramatically as a share of the electorate, moving from 10 to 14 percent between 1994 and 1998. Mr. Schwieren points out that "as Latino electoral participation rises, the Republican share of the Latino vote is declining." Switching to national figures, he adds that, whereas in the 1970s 74.8 percent of Latinos were Roman Catholic, the 1990s' figure is 62 percent. "This finding," he comments, "raises questions about the effectiveness of relying on conservative social issues as the basis of the Republican appeal to Latinos."

Finally, "the gender gap," Mr. Schwieren says, "has grown for Republicans in California." He points out that, of statewide Republican candidates, only Pete Wilson has received more than 40 percent of women's votes since George Bush's 48 percent in 1988.

2. Bruce Herschensohn's 1992 U.S. Senate campaign was plainly an exception, in several ways. First, it was a sincerely conservative endeavor. Second, unlike the others, it was viciously attacked by other Republicans — liberal Republicans, especially Tom Campbell — the criticism consisting mainly of a false portrayal of Herschensohn as a galloping symbol of prolife extremism. Third, being only one statewide campaign among so many the past decade, and overshadowed, as all senate races are, by presidential and gubernatorial elections, Bruce's honest effort alone could hardly be expected to overcome the general, overwhelming message to the voters: you can't trust the GOP.

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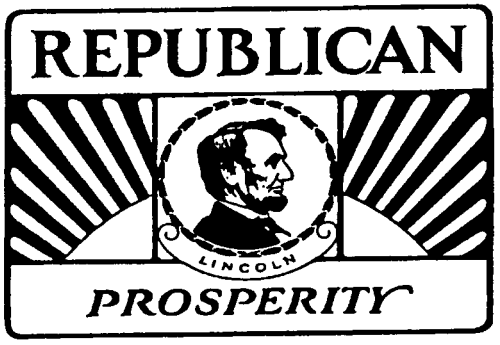
it surprising that the ideological make-up *of the electorate* shifts left? Or that enthusiasm for the Party and for its official political philosophy wanes among a general public disgusted with the cynicism, vacuousness, and dishonesty of the most visible Republican candidates?

IN ADDITION, Mr. Schwieren fails to mention the collapse of organized GOP registration efforts, as money has been drained away by statewide candidates for TV buys and expensive consulting services. But this is only part of a larger trend of suppressing the grass roots, the cornucopia from which registration and turn-out flow, in the state and national GOPs. Since the 1980s, California Republican politics has become increasingly a matter of serving the convenience of the Party's political establishment, and therefore of finding an endless string of excuses for placing "on the back burner" the interests of the rank-and-file. It is common knowledge, and yet Mr. Schwieren finds no place to mention it in his 53-page "study," that Pete Wilson conducted a decade-long war with his own Party's foot soldiers who have never shared his enthusiasm for his own advancement at the expense of the conservative cause. And despite Lungren's talk of "revitalizing the grass roots," he never stood with them against the establishment. Examples from his campaign are voluminous. Here's an earlier one: when real conservatives like Pat Nolan and Tom McClintock were opposing Wilson's massive 1991 tax increase, a reporter asked Dan Lungren if he would join them. Lungren said no. More recently, just last year, with Lungren at least nominally at the top, the state GOP establishment, including even George Deukmejian and Ed Meese, closed ranks to shield Chief Justice Ron George and Justice Ming Chin from Republican opposition for their activist liberalism. Conservative activists who wanted their Party to stand with its bedrock prolife, property rights, and rule of law principles were ignored. This is what Mr. Schwieren calls the "Reagan-Democrat" strategy.

During the last few months, most Republican elected officials in Sacramento opposed Senator Ray Haynes' popular and state GOP-backed plan to select delegates to the national Republican convention by congressional district. This plan would send a lightening bolt of energy through the state GOP grass roots, immediately helping alleviate exactly the long-term registration and turn-out problems Mr. Schwieren's data reveals. It stalled in the Democrat-controlled Legislature, however, and is now *not* expected to go into effect until at least 2004, if then. Both Parties in California normally hold to a firm tradition whereby each Party is allowed to arrange its own internal affairs, such as national convention delegate selection, and thus Democrats were widely expected to rubber-stamp the Haynes plan, but did not, no particular explanation being offered. Perhaps none was needed. With most Republican legislators (but not rank-and-file Republicans) known as public opponents of the plan, why should Democrats vote for it?



George W. Bush apparently wants to avoid the inconvenience of campaigning in California and, evidently, it can be costly to be seen as a cause of inconvenience for Governor Bush. A staffer with long and effective GOP service who had supported the Haynes plan was told by a Bush operative in California he could now become a Bush delegate in exactly one way: "over my dead body." The Bush operative seemed surprised at the staffer's naivete. He explained: "That's the way politics is played." Almost everyone involved in this tawdry business is a good conservative, wants less government and so forth, is sincerely and deeply troubled by the registration and other trends Mr. Schwieren identifies, and yet promptly abandoned the grass roots rather than inconveniencing a national candidate in even a minor, transitory way. All such episodes demoralize those who register Republicans, donate to pay for registrations, organize GOP volunteer efforts, run the Get-Out-The-Vote drills, vote themselves, and inform exit pollsters they are conservatives, but none of this is covered in the Schwieren report.

AS FOR Mr. Schwieren's contention that voters increasingly will not support the traditional Republican conservative cause, he is contradicted by the huge success of CCRI and the Unz anti-bilingual initiatives, as well as by poll numbers showing vast majorities supporting everything from parental consent for minors' abortions to educational choice to the traditional family (in the form, currently, of the Defense of Mar-

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riage Initiative) and prayer in schools.

Mr. Schwieren is also contradicted by California Senate Republican Caucus Chairman Jim Brulte, who may once have hired him, but who now reaches exactly the opposite conclusions after looking at surveys and focus group findings. In a recent interview, Senator Brulte said: if "you take two candidates, candidate A and candidate B, and ... you identify them just on the philosophy or the issues, the Republican candidate wins. [But] the minute you put the word 'Republican' on that candidate, and 'Democrat' on the other, we drop 12 points." The problem, that is, is not with conservative positions, but with the word "Republican." Mr. Schwieren's entire case for Republican retreat from its own core beliefs rests on the supposedly inexorable necessities of electoral victory as revealed by public opinion surveys and trends. And just so, his entire case vanishes with this one statement from Senator Brulte. Either Senator Brulte is right and Mr. Schwieren is wrong or the other way around. I believe the senator.

Increasingly suspecting that Mr. Schwieren's work is less a serious attempt to identify and solve the Party's political difficulties than yet another rationalization for the Party elite shoving rank-and-file Republicans once more to the back burner, our diligent Republican reader puts Mr. Schwieren aside.

He turns instead, more hopefully, to David Horowitz's new booklet, *The Art of Political War, How Republicans Can Fight to Win.* This is certainly more promising. In David Horowitz, he encounters a political thinker, writer, and man of action of real stature and sincerity. Mr. Horowitz joined the conservative movement some 15 years ago, having broken with the communist left, at huge personal cost, in revulsion over the violence and destructiveness his old faith sometimes ignored, sometimes excused, sometimes unapologetically embraced. In *Destructive Generation,* he wrote of the difficulty of his break, despite his intimate knowledge of the vast suffering caused by communism.

> Why was my freedom so hard to win? ... The moment I gave up my radical beliefs was the moment I had to look at myself for the very first time. At *me.* As I really was — not suspended above everyone else as an avatar of their future salvation but standing beside them as an equal, as one of *them.* Not one whom History had chosen for its vanguard but a speck of ordinary human dust.

SIMILARLY, THE Republican problem consists largely of too many Party leaders having detached themselves from the reality of the lives lived by the rank-and-file Republicans and Californians of all parties they *say* they want to represent. Under the circumstances, Republicans may turn hopefully to a man who has known and rejected a similar delusion himself. And right on *The Art of Political War's* opening page we read: "The greatest political deficiency of the Republican Party today is lack of respect for the common sense of the American people."

If Mr. Horowitz is urging us to rely upon the American people to demonstrate enough common sense to see through liberalism's lies and petty nonsense when a genuine alternative to it is offered, his point is certainly supported by our experiences with Ronald Reagan, whom the left contemptuously (out of frustration) dubbed the "Teflon president" because none of their false charges — racist, war-monger, simpleton, etc. — stuck. The people were not fooled. But *The Art of Political War* does *not* advise any such level-headed reliance on the power of the truth or the people's common sense. Rather, its message is clear: we should fall in with the Democrats, out-foxing them at their own dishonest game. The following examples convey the booklet's tone.

> [Republicans] need to accept that Democrats are going to practice the politics of personal destruction and project onto Republicans the sins they themselves have committed. They do it because they're Democrats, and because that's the way they win .... Instead of complaining about others, Republicans should be asking themselves: How do they do it? How do they get away with it? What do they know that makes them able to package a bankrupt political agenda and sell it successfully to the American voter? (page 14)

> Republicans often seem to regard political combats as they would debates before the Oxford Political Union, as though winning depends on rational arguments and carefully articulated principles. But the audience of politics is not made up of Oxford dons, and the rules are entirely different. (page 16)

> Because the Democrats have associated the Religious Right with moralistic intolerance, it is easy for liberals to portray them as a threat to any constituency that does not share their values. "*They* will impose their morals on you." It does not matter whether this is true or not. Once a negative image has stuck, the target is wounded — often mortally — for the political battle. (page 19

Many similar passages could be quoted, but, in a discussion of Democrats' campaign to bring

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down Newt Gingrich, Mr. Horowitz makes his most explicit plea for Republicans to adopt Democrats' dishonest tactics:

> Eventually, [Democrats] lodged 74 separate charges [against Gingrich], 65 of which were "laughed out of committee." The number itself is significant. This was a case of "show me the man and I'll find you the crime."
>
> In similar circumstance, Republicans would never think to file charges they knew had no chance of sticking, let alone charges that were completely phony. But Democrats understood that while the phony charges were filed in public, they would be discarded in private ....
>
> [Republicans] should have remembered they were in a war. They should have responded in kind to a blatant attempt to destroy their leader, instead of standing around and watching their leader be pecked to death. They should have created a war room and a plan to fight back. The day the Democrat Whip, David Bonior, (a charter member of the Party's Militant Left) filed his first charge against Gingrich, the Republican whip should have filed his first charge against Bonior. And then it should have been charge for charge until the Democrats gave up their attack.

CERTAINLY REPUBLICANS should have created a war room and a plan to fight back, but should they have fought back "in kind"? Men need a reason to fight like tigers, like David Boniors. They need a cause they believe in that is larger than themselves. Right at the center of the Republican cause is honesty. In the context of the impeachment, honesty is the basis of the rule of law, which is the basis of constitutional government and of a republic — which is to say, it is the basis of the American system that Republican conservatives exist to conserve. If Republicans fight back "in kind" they undermine their own position.[3] Mr. Horowitz's advice reminds me of a passage in Robert Bolt's play *A Man for all Seasons* about Sir Thomas More. More's wife, Alice, and son-in-law, Roper, urge a reluctant More to use his power as a minister of state to arrest one Richard Rich, who, although he has broken no law, is plainly a villain.

> Alice: (Exasperated, pointing after Rich) While you talk, he's gone!
> More: And so he should, if he was the Devil himself, until he broke the law!
> Roper: So now you'd give the Devil benefit of law!
> More: Yes. What would you do? Cut a great road through the law, to get after the Devil?
> Roper: I'd cut down every law in England to do that!
> More: Oh? And when the last law was down, and the Devil turned round on you — where would you hide, Roper, the laws all being flat? This country's planted thick with laws from coast to coast — man's laws, not God's — and if you cut them down — and you're just the man to do it — d'you really think you could stand upright in the winds that would blow then? Yes, I'd give the Devil benefit of law, for my own safety's sake.

But Democrats lie and do not undermine their position. Why can't Republicans do the same? Because lying is what we expect of Democrats.

But Democrats lie and do not undermine their own position. Instead, they seem to grow stronger. Why can't Republicans do the same? The answer is that lying is what we expect of Democrats. As Mr. Horowitz points out: "Democrats will be Democrats. They will be unprincipled and lie." And they will get away with it, but not because it is good tactics *per se*. As our consideration of Mr. Schwieren's tract showed, for Republicans lying has been their undoing. The difference is: lying is consistent with Democrats' core idea but not with Republicans'. Political entities, including ours, *always* have two parties, corresponding to life's two divergent impulses: the one toward doing right because it is right, the other toward revolting against what is right when doing right is unpleasant, requiring self-sacrifice.

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3. Perhaps Mr. Horowitz means to imply that the farcical nature of the proceedings would become obvious to the American people who would laugh the whole matter out of court, so to speak. If so, I wish he had made that plain, and had explained how the very delicate stage managing that such an operation would require would have been handled, especially given the media's well-developed skill at ignoring or heaping scorn upon Republican "witch-hunts" even while they inconsistently confer gravest urgency upon Democrat "investigations."

But the main point I wish he had made if this is the sense in which he urges responding in kind, is that Republicans would first have had to establish themselves as the party of honest dealing in clear contrast to the Democrats. That alone could provide the context necessary to make the lesson of such a farce understandable.

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Contrasting the American and French revolutions provides a particularly clear picture of these impulses as political programs and the differences in how they play out. In France, in a revolt against that nation's long historical tradition of Christianity, God's non-existence was officially proclaimed, leaving man's reason as the absolute final authority in human affairs. Religion could at most be a strictly private matter. The people alone, not God or any other mythical "higher" authority, must organize society and control the state which, by definition, was atheist or agnostic. Statesmen as such must ignore religious doctrine, always ruling according to the will of the people, which, of course, means the will of the Party. Why? Because the practical difficulty with dethroning God is that *something* must still rule, but no rational basis remains to determine *what* that something *is*. Calling it the will of the people solves nothing. The solution is to resort to power. Whoever holds greatest power defines the will of the people, defines right and wrong, because nothing else exists with authority to define anything.

Under these strange circumstances, we find men employing terror to establish a tyranny in the name of "reason" because anything *short* of tyranny risks permitting power to revert to "irrational" men, and establishing reason has taken too many centuries to risk anything like that. As Whittaker Chambers wrote in *Witness:* "Religion and freedom are indivisible. Without freedom the soul dies. Without the soul there is no justification for freedom. Necessity is the only ultimate justification known to the mind." Thus, the French revolution ended not with the "enlightenment" the anti-religious party promised (and always promises), but with terror and in death, exactly fulfilling the predictions of the Judaeo-Christian tradition: for the wages of sin *is* death.

On his deathbed, Napoleon said his critics "wanted me to behave like Washington." But of course he could not. He would not have known how, or why he should behave like Washington, and if he had known, he would have found no support in the revolutionary system for doing so. Before he could behave like Washington, he would have had to overthrow the very basis of the revolution, restoring God's authority over His creation.

BUT THE American proposition proclaims, in the words of John Courtney Murray, "a truth that lies beyond politics; it imparts to politics a fundamental human meaning. I mean the sovereignty of God over nations as well as over individual men." No king, no government, no man could rule legitimately except in accordance with the law of God, specifically with regard to the inalienable rights with which God endowed all men. This proposition informs America's founding documents, and is stated explicitly in the Declaration of Independence. The founders often reiterated that democracy and freedom rely upon religion and the virtue it requires of men. "Reason and experience," Washington said in his farewell address, "both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle. And it is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government." de Tocqueville wrote that if America ever ceased to be good, it would cease to be great. In 1863, Lincoln said:

> Whereas the Senate of the United States, devoutly recognizing the supreme authority and just government of Almighty God in all the affairs of men and nations, has by a resolution requested the President to designate and set apart a day for national prayer and humiliation; And whereas it is the duty of nations as well as of men to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God, to confess their sins and trespasses in humble sorrow, yet with the assured hope that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon ....

President Eisenhower repeated Lincoln's words in a similar proclamation in 1952.

Now the question of honesty is central here; it is a bellwether, telling which side of the competing traditions one falls, the French Jacobin or the American, because honesty is intrinsically important only "under God." By definition, if no authority exists above man, nothing exists to condemn lies or sanctify truth. On this basis, it is undeniable (though that will not stop liars from denying it) that today's Democrat left, as the Party of lies, is America's current bearer of the radical Jacobin tradition. Evidence is in ready supply. Here's left-winger Robert Scheer, an *L.A. Times* contributing editor, writing about a resolution just passed by Congress declaring a national "day of solemn prayer, fasting and humiliation before God":

"Can you even imagine a day," writes Scheer, "when our government — conceived by the founders in opposition to state-imposed religion — would instruct us in required forms of prostration before their officially defined vision of the deity?" Scheer goes on to wonder whether the resolution might be at least partly inspired by creeping Aryan white supremacism in the House (the resolution received 274 votes). Note his shameless lying. He mis-states history, America's founding idea, and both the content and the intent of

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the resolution — does it bother him? Does he care if what he says is true or not? He shows no sign of caring; the most cursory investigation would prove his contentions laughable. Does his thinking fit the American, or the Jacobin, tradition? The answer is plain.

AND OF course, the same is true of Bill Clinton. For some reason, intelligent people continue to be shocked at the man's complete disregard for morality. Get over it, folks. Morality comes from somewhere. Where it is found, it has a source, one that has never touched Clinton any more than Napoleon or Robert Scheer. Were any of these people to tell the truth on principle, *that* would be news. It would signal they had changed their spots, that they were contradicting their own ideology, questioning their own first principles, possibly even consulting the authentic American tradition. On the other hand, that this president should seduce a young intern regardless of the violation of basic liberal ideas involved, commit perjury, advise others to do so, rifle FBI files seeking dirt on political enemies, facilitate Chinese espionage, and commit a long string of acts violative of moral precepts based in the West's Judaeo-Christian religious tradition is cause for a yawn. He gets away with it because it is expected. It is what we all knew him to be when he was elected. It is only shocking because he shows us the Jacobin tradition has become more firmly entrenched in America than most people realized.

The conflict between the American and Jacobin tradition, between freedom ordained by God and tyranny required to sustain the reign of man's "reason," is the defining conflict in all politics. Ronald Reagan captured the great, generous simplicity of the American tradition in an exchange with students at Moscow State University in 1988: "Freedom, it has been said, makes people selfish and materialistic, but Americans are one of the most religious peoples on earth. Because they know that liberty, just as life itself, is not earned but a gift from God, they seek to share that gift with the world."

And what of Mr. Horowitz? In his booklet, right after urging Republicans to respect the peoples' common sense, he explains: "This does not mean following polls or focus groups, or putting one's finger slavishly to the wind. It means that what is right politically (within a constitutional framework and consistent with deeply held principles) is what produces electoral majorities." So, given his advice that Republicans should ape Democrats' dishonest tactics, should we conclude that Mr. Horowitz does not number honesty among our "deeply held principles"? After all, if it takes dishonest smear campaigns to produce electoral majorities, we conduct them, right? Is *this* how we show our "respect" for the American people and their "common sense"? But of course this shows no respect. If a man promises to help you in exchange, say, for your vote, and then breaks his promise after having received it, has he shown you respect? — or contempt? It begins to sound almost like an invitation to assume the attitude of one "suspended above everyone else as an avatar of their future salvation." If it's an air of self-important superiority we are after, former President Bush, Pete Wilson, and other prominent Republicans offer a plentiful supply. They certainly don't mind lying in dealing with voters.

Commenting on many Republicans' reaction to Clinton's surviving impeachment, Mr. Horowitz presents his own version of the American political idea:

> But (Republicans ask) how can we, in good conscience, respect the judgment of the American people when the American people failed to support the impeachment and removal of a corrupt president? The question, of course, is rhetorical. The only possible answer is: Blame the people.
>
> If we really believe in the American constitutional order, however, our first political article of faith is surely this: the people are sovereign. Where complex issues of government, society and law are concerned, truth is bound to be elusive. Should the president be impeached? Is the minimum wage a boon to workers or an eliminator of jobs? We think we know what is true, but we also know that we may be wrong. This humility is what makes us small 'd' democrats, and conservatives. We do not believe in rule by the anointed. We do not believe in the divine right of the infallible. Democracy arbitrates life's uncertainty through electoral pluralities. In America, nobody gets to decide what's true and what's false, what's right and what's wrong without the consent — or at least the tolerance — of a plurality of the American electorate. If the electorate is wrong, only the electorate can remedy its error.

Now we know why Mr. Horowitz named one of his publications *Heterodoxy*. He adds in a footnote: "If you don't have faith in the long-term good sense of the American public, then you don't really have faith in the system the Founders created." What are we to make of all this? First, the question of people not supporting Clinton's removal is not rhetorical; it is entirely practical, a lot more practical than the apparent raising of popular infallibility to the level of Absolute Idea that Mr. Horowitz invokes. Personally, I like Churchill's understanding of democracy better: the worst form of government ever invented, except for all the others — or words to that effect.

The question's practical answer is not "blame the people," which is

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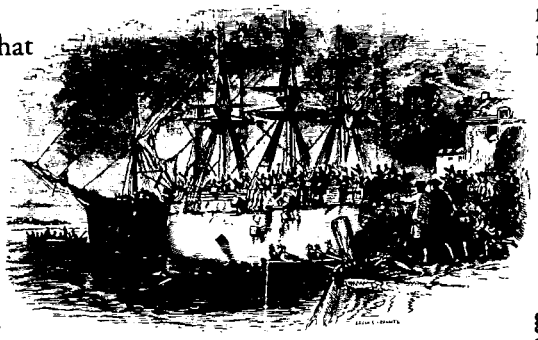
not an answer at all but an action item. One practical answer to the question is: of course the people can be wrong. de Tocqueville warned of it. As John Courtney Murray wrote in 1960: "Part of the inner architecture of the American ideal of freedom has been the profound conviction that only a virtuous people can be free. It is not an American belief that free government is inevitable, only that it is possible, and that its possibility can be realized only when the people as a whole are inwardly governed by the recognized imperatives of the universal moral law."

WHAT MR. HOROWITZ leaves out of his book is this hopeful view, as if practicing virtue were not only *not* the key to securing our freedom, but the surest way to lose it. "It's the politics, stupid!" his booklet repeatedly reminds us, implying that politics means cynicism, and only the cynic wins. But the whole American idea — revolutionary, absurd, impossible, to be sure, but sound nonetheless — is that faith in the good will be rewarded. And it is not necessary to be a religious believer to hold that faith, only a student of history, American history. The practical question of the American people's response to Clinton, with its at least superficial appearance of condoning profound corruption, leads to the practical answer: it is high time we took a long, hard look at how well we adhere to our own moral standards and, not flying in panic or hiding our eyes from the truth (out of "respect" for the people!) as though nothing could be done to improve us, but setting about the ongoing work of doing better — the pursuit of moral excellence, as Rush Limbaugh might put it.

We begin by remembering who the people *are:* not the fictional "masses" of left mythology; *we* are the people, and we can be as good as we choose to be if we will make some sacrifices to be good. That is American optimism and genuine respect for the people — us.



BOSTON TEA PARTY

On a personal level, I find Mr. Horowitz' booklet ironic. More than a decade ago, I told a friend my definition of a conservative was simply: an honest man. My friend replied that that took in a lot of people, but at the time I was thinking of two in particular: Alexander Solzhenytsin and David Horowitz. Solzhenytsin because, writing about Soviet communism, he had said:

> *Our present system is unique in* world history, because over and above its physical and economic constraints, it demands of us total surrender of our souls, continuous and active participation in the general, conscious lie. To this putrefaction of the soul, this spiritual enslavement, human beings who wish to be human cannot consent. When Caesar, having exacted what is Caesar's, demands still more insistently that we render unto him what is God's — that is a sacrifice we dare not make! The most important part of our freedom, inner freedom, is always subject to our will. If we surrender it to corruption, we do not deserve to be called human.

And I was thinking of David Horowitz because what set him apart from his fellow leftists was his unwillingness to go on participating in the lie after Vietnam and the Black Panthers showed him it *was* a lie. A lot of people can be honest with themselves as long as life seems to validate their views, especially their moral ideas. The true conservative is the man who remains honest with himself, refusing to surrender to corruption, even when life turns him and his world upside down. David Horowitz was that true conservative.

And I believe he still is honest, at least within himself. But his advice to Republicans is a good indication of how difficult it is, even with, but especially without, religion, to sustain that, or the other virtues, in the heat of political battle. America is not founded, as Mr. Horowitz seems to think, upon a doubt — we think we know what is true, but we also know that we may be wrong — that's a foundation too weak to sustain anything. Rather this nation is founded on a certainty, one so strong Thomas Jefferson called it self-evident; so strong that Ronald Reagan was able to build upon it a political movement that re-shaped the nation and the world, just as it had 200 years earlier. Mr. Horowitz' booklet is filled with instances of Democrats succeeding and post-Reagan Republicans bumbling as examples of what we should and should not do. But I don't recall a single example drawn from the presidency of the most successful Republican of this century used to illustrate how to win. It seems strange: we know the idea at the foundation of American democracy and freedom, we know that that idea achieved spectacular national and international political success a mere decade ago, and we know that failing to maintain that

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idea at the center of Republican politics has been accompanied by Republican failure ever since, and yet all Mr. Schwieren or Mr. Horowitz can tell us is: drop it, ignore it, run from it, and embrace the lie.

WHAT *SHOULD* Republicans do? Ten thousand things, beginning with a national re-building of their connection with the American people through the grass roots. But the GOP problem is no more one of not knowing what to do than it is one of over-fastidious concern for the truth. The GOP problem is loss of backbone, which follows loss of purpose. If it re-captures its purpose, all the rest will follow. Under Ronald Reagan, the Republican Party fulfilled its natural mission corresponding, as I said earlier, to the essential impulse in life to do right, just as, under Bill Clinton, the Democrat Party fulfills its natural mission corresponding to the impulse to ignore right when adhering to it comes at a price. That is why, I daresay, it is even more certain of Reagan than of today's congressional Republicans that he would never, in mounting a defense of Newt Gingrich, "think to file charges [he] knew had no chance of sticking, let alone charges that were completely phony." What ails the GOP is revealed in considering the difference between Congress's repeated failures of will and Reagan standing fast with the American people, but against literally a world of pressure, *for* the 1981 tax cut, *against* the Air Traffic Controller strike, *for* Central America, *against* terrorism, *for* cruise missiles in Europe, and *against* the Evil Empire. Communists' power, wrote Whittaker Chambers, "whose nature baffles the rest of the world, because in a large measure the rest of the world has lost that power, is the power to hold convictions and to act on them. It is the same power that moves mountains; it is also an unfailing power to move men."

Reagan had that power. A solution for Republicans awaits their finding it again.

A final note about hope and optimism. At first glance, it appears that David Horowitz's break with the absolutist Revolutionary Idea — communism — in the early 1980s set him on a path exactly opposite to the one he had been traveling. In place of the radical certitude in the rightness of the Party and the communist cause that had controlled his mind, he now chose the humility described in *The Art of Political War* that both springs from seeing and permits one to see that "we know that we may be wrong." He wrote in *Destructive Generation* that, at the time, he and Peter Collier, who made the break with him, felt, echoing Whittaker Chambers, they were "leaving the winning world for the losing world."

But in fact both impressions — of a complete change in direction and of joining the losers — are illusory, parts of the larger illusion of power. Only one idea, only one faith, has ever truly respected the people, the idea that, as the old Roman in *Ben Hur* says, "God is near, in every man." That is the only really revolutionary idea ever to come into the world. It transforms lives from struggles with outside forces to struggles within ourselves, from hopeless strivings for money and power to give us peace and security in a chaotic world to hopeful strivings for self-reformation to gain love and peace in eternal life. It is the one idea that truly changes all men into brothers, the one idea that unleashes the power of love in us, which is the one power able to compete with and overthrow the power of brute force, the power of death. That is why this revolutionary idea is the one solid ground from which lasting free societies have grown or will grow. Without it, without God, life can never be more, finally, than a random clash of molecules meaning nothing and leading to despair.

In that despair, political power seems to offer hope, but it is a delusion. Love can build; political power on its own is nothing but power to destroy. In its time, it seems to be winning, but it always fades and finally blows away, revealing the vast destruction that is its only legacy.

SO DAVID HOROWITZ was really leaving the losing side. But it seems he brought away with him the doubt that lies at leftism's core. The Latin root of the English word "honest" is *"honestus,"* meaning honorable. America's Founding Fathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to the cause of freedom, but here we are invited to leave behind our honor in service to the cause. It is an invitation to follow down the very path of despair David Horowitz once escaped from at terrible cost. The better path, the path of hope, is the path of honesty.

The Art of Political War says Republicans have no "chants" or "sound bites" to convey their message and capture the imagination quickly and clearly. Actually, they have plenty, although they tend to forget them. Here's one, from Lincoln: one nation under God. CPR

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Public Education vs. American Culture

Academic skills are on the back burner. Our schools now serve mainly to undermine and alter values.

by Steve Baldwin

In 1994, it was my honor to serve as the first Republican chairman of the Assembly Education Committee in nearly three decades. My Committee was inundated with hundreds of shocking stories from parents about what was happening inside our public schools. As an activist, I thought I had heard it all, but I was wrong. The stories reflect trends that are damaging our students and contributing to the destruction of American culture. What's worse is that the public seems blissfully unaware of what is happening.

It can safely be stated that our public schools' primary mission is no longer the teaching of basic academic skills. Now our schools are where values are altered and undermined and replaced with secular humanism. Liberals view public schools as a place for trying out educational fads and psychological experiments and for engaging in social engineering with little scrutiny from either the media or uninformed parents.

The seeds of this transformation were planted many years ago by radical humanist John Dewey and his disciples. But the change was so gradual that by and large it has gone unnoticed even by informed Americans. As recently as 30 years ago, most public schools promoted a value system consistent with America's founding principles: respect for God, parents, and authority, promotion of the work ethic and personal responsibility: in general, schools reflected America's Judaeo-Christian values.

Today, our schools have completed the full transformation envisioned by Dewey and other humanist leaders. Our schools now promote socialism, nihilism, globalism, collectivism and hedonism. The natural offspring of such a shift in foundational principles is hostility to the traditional family unit, increased delinquency and crime, drug addiction, hostility to capitalism, an epidemic of sexual disease, the celebration

Steve Baldwin represents California's 77th Assembly District. This article is adapted from a speech delivered before a national meeting of conservative activists.

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of the dark and gloomy, acceptance of homosexuality, and the portrayal of patriotism and sovereignty as backward and undesirable.

Many conservatives have written off the public school system due to its legendary ineptitude, but unfortunately, it is a system so pervasive and influential in our culture that to ignore it is virtually to ignore the culture war itself. Let me briefly outline ways public schools undermine American culture:

Public schools glamorize violence and death.

Part of this is a fad called "Death Education," in which children are inundated with literature and programs about death and dying supposedly to "desensitize" them to make them "better learners." Some schools tour morgues. Others have half of the class play dead while the other half write their obituaries. Schools have assigned students to write suicide letters. A popular game, "Lifeboat," asks students to imagine they and their family are stranded aboard a lifeboat and are short on food. They are asked which family member will be thrown overboard. A popular film, "Carl," about a boy who decides to escape his problems through suicide, implies that taking his life is simply one of life's options. Columbine High School was saturated with death education. But even outside death education programs, much of our public school literature is dark, depressing, and nihilistic. Steinbeck and Shakespeare are out. A quick look at the most popular books in our public schools, such as *The Giver* and *Always Running*, reveal sordid stories of death, euthanasia, rape, and mutilation. I am not even allowed to read excerpts from these books on the Assembly floor due to their obscene content, but they're OK for our kids!

A popular game, "Lifeboat," asks students to imagine they and their family are stranded and short on food. They are asked which family member will be thrown overboard.

Public schools celebrate sexual hedonism.

The Kinsey view of the world — have sex with anyone, anytime — is the foundation of most sex education programs. One secret of the sex education movement is the involvement of pedophiles as authors of public school sex education curricula. Many are either admitted pedophiles or have publicly advocated child/adult sex. The main trade association for the sex education movement, the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex (SSSS), was headed at one time by Dr. John Money, a long-time advocate of adult/child sex. Other sex-ed leaders also work for Playboy, Penthouse, and other porn outlets, which is why some of California's sex ed material encourages the viewing of pornography. Despite a renewed emphasis on abstinence, the leaders of the sex education movement — SIECUS and Planned Parenthood — have been able to convince many states to refuse Federal funds set aside for abstinence-based programs.

Unfortunately, many governors, including Republican governors, have caved-in on this. California public schools now have gay proms, guy student counseling programs, in-services to train teachers how to promote the gay lifestyle, and gay student clubs. Los Angeles Unified, like many large school districts, distributes material claiming American heroes, such as Abraham Lincoln, were gay. They routinely allow adult homosexuals on our K-12 campuses to identify students they believed to be "confused" about their sexual identity so that they may "counsel" them. Sex inundates much of K-12 literature. A teacher from the Mt. Empire School District shows Maplethorpe slides — men with bullwhips in their anus, children showing genitalia, men urinating in the mouths of other men. Education Week recently reported that public schools are experiencing an unprecedented wave of teacher/student sexual incidents.

Public schools emphasize self-esteem and group work over the work ethic or competitiveness.

Schools prepare children for collectivism, not capitalism. "F"s are not granted at many schools. The "A-F" system is being replaced with "Pass/Fail." If an "A" and "C' are the same, why strive for "A"s? There is Cooperative Learning in which students work in groups, the smart kid may do the work with everyone else along for the ride, but they may all get "A"s. The high priest of CL is Alfie Kohn, author of No Contest — the Case Against Competition, and is in high demand as a consultant in the education world. He quotes Marx and Lenin and criticizes competition in

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society:

> The individualist worldview is a profoundly conservative doctrine; it inherently stifles change ... the very stress on individualism, on competition, on achieving material success which so mark our society also generates intense pressures to cut corners ... Transforming the nature of society, then, requires a collective effort and a long-term commitment.

Let me emphasize, Kohn is not on the fringe. He is in the mainstream of education theorists. Some schools are even having groups take tests together! We used to call that "cheating."

Public schools hide America's Judaeo-Christian heritage.

American history is taught without mentioning the enormous influence of Christianity upon our founding fathers. Omission is bad enough; outright falsification is worse: most history texts say Thanksgiving is about giving thanks to the Indians for the food!

School-to-Work jettisons the Liberal Arts.

Public schools are quietly moving away from a "rounded education" approach to a totally vocational education model called School-to-Work, in which students are assigned a career "track" by bureaucrats. The plan was detailed in an 18-page letter to Hillary Clinton by leftist educator Marc Tucker. Tucker calls children "human capitol" that will serve the needs of government and makes it clear School-to-Work will be part of a larger effort to "restructure" America. The STW plan also sets up a system whereby employers access a master student database containing far more than grades — ratings on self-esteem, sociability, integrity, and other highly subjective qualities, for example. How might politically incorrect ideas impact "sociability" ratings?

Public schools undermine patriotism.

Many public schools no longer recite the Pledge of Allegiance. Singing patriotic songs, common when I attended public schools, has all but disappeared. But the UN is promoted as the savior of everything — some schools have even used "global studies" curriculum produced by UNESCO. Needless to say, nationalism is portrayed negatively.

Public schools fail to prepare students to compete in the free enterprise system.

The Whole Language approach to reading is devastating an entire generation of American children. Despite all the lip service about phonics in recent years, most schools are still religiously clinging to WL. Ditto regarding "fuzzy" math. I discovered as a former member of the California Curriculum Commission, the agency responsible for "approving" textbooks for use in public schools, that textbooks with field data showing academic improvement were the ones rejected, while faddish textbooks with a history of failure were approved.

Remember "ebonics?" When the media reported that the Oakland schools were teaching students how to speak improperly by normalizing street talk, what they did not report was that this was a statewide phenomenon. Indeed, the California Department of Education even published an ebonics handbook that is in use in schools throughout the state.

Public schools work to supplant home and church as the hub of community and dilute their educational mission by delivering health care.

Under federal legislation allowing schools to operate as clinics receiving Medicaid reimbursements, parents are now signing "compacts" and "contracts" with school districts, giving them authority to make a variety of health care decisions for the child such as enrolling them in various psychological programs. Some school districts have already contracted with psychiatric clinics to "assess" all children and to train teachers how to use the latest behavior modification techniques.

The tests now being giving to thousands of students have nothing to do with academics but seek psychological information. Such invasive questions are asked as, "When you are mad at your parents and want to get back at them, what little things to you do to anger or embarrass them?" and, "If you could change any one thing about your parents, what would it be?" Also, schools now cooperate with health and welfare agencies in "home visitation" programs as specified in "Goals 2000." These programs are called "Parents as Teachers," "Healthy Start," "Healthy Families," or similar names. They are set up to send bureaucrats into homes and hospitals to "assess" new mothers, who can be labeled "at risk," information Child Protective Services can use to confiscate your children. Some "at risk" factors include: "low functioning parent due to limited ability or illness," "inability of parent to relate to or connect with children," "overindulgence, undue spoiling on part of parent" — factors so subjective any family could be failed.

George Orwell, call your office. CPR

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THE PARTY NEVER ENDED

Conservatives and liberals united to drive the Communist Party out of Hollywood in the '40s and '50s — or was it just driven underground?

by Denis J. Norrington

Hardly a day goes by when some conservative commentator, talk show host, or publication does not criticize "Hollywood" as a bastion of liberalism and liberal propaganda. Indeed the behavior of so-called film industry "leaders" seems to support these criticisms. Directors such as Stephen Spielberg, George Lucas, and others are among Bill Clinton's strongest supporters. Prominent actors — Tom Cruise and Tom Hanks, for instance — readily lend their names to liberal causes. Oscar and Emmy ceremonies are laced with anti-conservative and anti-Republican comments. And Alec Baldwin's network TV outburst against Henry Hyde and House Judiciary Committee Republicans and the recent anti-gun abuse heaped on Tom Selleck by ABC talk show host Rosie O'Donnell need no further comment.

Yet Hollywood has given the conservative movement some of its greatest names and supporters. In addition to President Ronald Reagan, who will probably go down in history as the twentieth century's greatest conservative leader, there was George Murphy who capped a successful film career by serving as one of California's U.S. Senators, and John Wayne who reinforced his legendary film status by speaking out constantly and forcefully for individual freedom against socialism and communism. Bob Hope's never-wavering adherence to the Republican Party is one of his career's trademarks, while many others have supported conservative ideas and leaders, notably among them Charlton Heston, the late George Jessel, and, at the end of his career, Frank Sinatra. But of Hollywood's current generation, conservative Tom Selleck seems conspicuously alone. What has happened?

Much of the answer to this seeming paradox can be found in Kenneth Lloyd Billingsley's well-documented

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**Hollywood Party*, Kenneth Lloyd Billingsley, Prima Publishing, Rocklin, California, 1998, 365 pages, $25, cloth.

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book *Hollywood Party*,* a detailed history of Communist Party U.S.A. activities and influence in the Hollywood film industry. Perhaps in no other section of American society did the Communist Party gain such a foothold. Following Lenin's dictum laid down in the 1920s that "of all the arts, the cinema is the most important," C.P. film industry organizers came within a whisker of capturing total control of the "cinema" labor force in 1945-46.

Large segments of the Hollywood labor movement were infiltrated and dominated by the Communist Party, which often operated under Stalin's direct control.

BILLINGSLEY SKILLFULLY traces and documents the growth of Communist Party influence in the '30s and '40s within the Hollywood film community, especially its labor organizations. The impetus for communism's initial gains in Hollywood came largely from the Great Depression and from the contrast gullible American journalists were drawing between conditions here, mis-reported as a failure of "capitalism" (really a result of government interference in the economy), and false stories of a booming Soviet economy emanating from Stalin's propagandists and lapped up and repeated by useful idiots worldwide. Many leading actors lent their names to Party-backed causes, while scores of writers, many of whose films and novels were highly popular in the '30s, '40s, and '50s, flocked to the organizations set up by the Communist Party.

Billingsley's exhaustively-researched work is most valuable in exposing and debunking leftist myths about post-World War II "persecution" of Hollywood "victims" led by the House UnAmerican Activities Committee and the idea that communist influence simply "did not exist" in Hollywood. According to the myth, HUAC's "victims" were at worst only misled "liberals." In contrast, Billingsley describes the C.P.'s real strength in Hollywood. Emboldened by their World War II successes, Communist labor organizers, aided by Longshoremen's Union head Harry Bridges (whom recently-surfaced KGB documents show cooperated directly with Soviet communists), attempted the 1945-'46 takeover of all Hollywood labor in a campaign involving a series of violent strikes organized and provoked by the Communist Party. The most furious of these was known as the "Battle of Burbank," part of which Kirk Douglas described in the 1988 book *The Ragman's Son*: "Thousands of people fought in the middle of Barham Boulevard with knives, clubs, battery cables, brass knuckles, chains, and samps."

Those later exposed by HUAC hearings and subject to subsequent blacklisting, so far from being simply "liberals who were misled," Billingsley shows in many instances had direct C.P. ties. He offers solid evidence proving that large segments of the Hollywood labor movement were extensively infiltrated and dominated by the Communist Party, which often operated under Stalin's direct control. Recently unearthed Soviet records document the plans and efforts of Stalin and his agents to control America's film industry. *Hollywood Party* details the connections that existed between the C.P. in Hollywood and prominent script writers, producers, and directors. The book also describes the constant purging and repression within C.P.-dominated labor unions and Party structure. This process characteristically extended to script writers and directors whom the C.P. forced to recast film story lines and scripts. The best known of these artists included directors Edward Dmytryk, who later regretted giving in to C.P. pressure to re-do some of his work, and Elia Kazan who finally wound up breaking his ties with the Party entirely. While HUAC developed no specific legislative prescriptions, its hearings *did* highlight destructive Communist activities in the Hollywood labor movement and its often successful efforts to skew the content of film scripts to the left. Those who were jailed as a result of the hearings for refusing to testify or perjuring themselves before the committee broke the law and deserved their punishment. As Elia Kazan's wife remarked in response to leftist criticism of HUAC "witch hunts": "Those witches did not exist. Communists do."

The real heroes of this story were men like Roy Brewer, the liberal anti-communist labor organizer who fought the communists and drove them from their positions of power in the Hollywood labor movement, and Ronald Reagan who, like other formerly-liberal actors, saw through the C.P.'s lies and violent tactics and led successful efforts to "clean up" Hollywood and destroy the C.P.'s influence. When director Edward Dmytryk's break with the left brought him the usual deluge of communist-orchestrated abuse, Brewer, Reagan, and several others came to his defense in a moving statement they signed titled "You Can Be Free Men Again!" They wrote:

> When the Communist Party traps an American into its unholy conspiracy, it is almost unbearably

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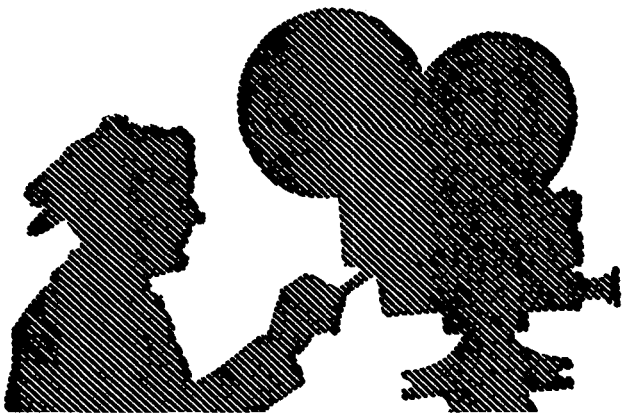
hard to break away. The Party sees to that, for the Party must enforce its discipline or die.

The Communist Party is now trying to destroy Edward Dmytryk for breaking with the Party and exposing its secrets to the proper government agencies. Dmytryk is not the first ex-Communist to be called 'faker' and 'liar' and 'scoundrel' and 'perjurer.' These same accusations have been leveled by the Communist Party against such militant ex-Communists as Arthur Koestler, Louis Budenz, Elizabeth Bentley, and Whittaker Chambers.

In each case, the records of these persons show that their disillusionment with Communism came slowly, but with it came determination to help destroy the menace which once had trapped them. The attack against Dmytryk merely confirms what veteran fighters against Communism already know, namely that the Party has been hit where it hurts ....

We will be surprised if there are not other attacks by the Communist Party on other former Communists who have the guts to stand up and be counted and to tell the truth to the proper government agencies. It takes courage and desire and time for an American to work free of the tentacles of the Communist Party. And it takes help. But there is a way out. To any Communist Party member who may be seeking that way, we say: 'You too can be free men again!'

Many other disillusioned Hollywood figures followed Dmytryk, who died recently (the *Los Angeles Times* reminding us that he "testified in [the] Blacklist Era," but not of the courage and honesty it took to do so) out of the Party. Many in Hollywood who supported the conservative cause then saw their star power rise. As the battle's tide turned, studios re-established themselves as America's major source of entertainment. During the Cold War's first 15 years, the Communist Party in Hollywood simply disappeared.



Or did it? Actually, as Billingsley makes clear, many of those who supposedly were "blacklisted" continued writing scripts and books, some under assumed names, others using names of non-blacklisted associates and relatives. Others who had become anti-communist liberals or who had cooperated with studio execs and HUAC by naming people whom they thought were actual film industry communists, nonetheless evidently remained left sympathizers. Vietnam brought them to the surface again. Coupled with the collapse of the Hollywood studio system, America's failure to defend freedom in Vietnam gave the left a renewed influence in the film community that continues today. It shows in the scarcity of Hollywood films critical of communist or left-wing totalitarian regimes, despite thoroughly-documented records of mass slaughter and vast networks of concentration camps in the Soviet Union and other communist nations. In Hollywood, it is as if Alexander Solzehnitsyn had never written a word. Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago* stands out as a notable exception, conspicuous precisely because it is so unique. Does anyone remember James Cagney's great film set in the 1950s' divided Berlin: *One, Two, Three*? Can anyone imagine such a film being made today? Hollywood, producer of seemingly thousands of films on the World War that ended more than a half century ago, completely failed to notice the thorough discrediting and collapse of the Evil Empire, a story still playing out today. (*The Hunt for Red October* is another of the very few exceptions to this rule.) Recent publication of a vast trove of KGB and other secret communist documents containing damning evidence of mass terror and heart-rending tragedy sufficient for the making of dozens, if not hundreds, of epic films, has somehow failed to register on Hollywood's aesthetic radar screen.

And what of Communist China? That sad country's totalitarian bosses currently enslave somewhere between 5 and 7 million people in China's northern and western provinces' Gulag, but that has not deterred film industry leaders and actors from clustering around Bill Clinton, whose China policy amounts to a *de facto* alliance, including free access to America's most important national security and defense secrets. Clinton recently presented an award on national TV to well-known folk singer and unrepentant Stalinist Pete Seeger, whose slavish devotion to the C.P. party line withstood even the tortuous pro-Hitler twists of the Nazi-Soviet Pact days.

In a remarkably clairvoyant statement made in testimony before HUAC in 1947, *New Yorker* magazine writer James McGuiness said "the only group in the United States organized for the purpose of thought control is the Communist group, and if they ever got control of the [film] industry nothing would ever appear on the screen but their own conception of what was best for all of us." The Communist Party no longer stages riots on Barham Boulevard, but when it comes to thought control, its successors seem to have accomplished far more than many of the original Party members dreamed of doing. CPR

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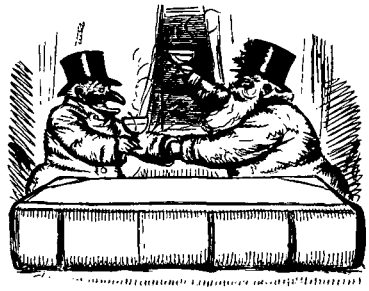

CRITICUS

Accents Yet Unknown

BY G.B. TENNYSON

... In states unborn and accents yet unknown.
— Julius Caesar

LET IT be said at the outset that, like any good Tory, Criticus delights in the variety and abundance of languages, dialects, accents, regional forms of speech, local words and pronunciations, trade terms, specialist jargon, code words, family endearments, all the dappled things in speech that human ingenuity has come up with over the centuries. Criticus believes linguistic variety adds to the gaiety of nations (if one may still use that felicitous phrase in its original sense). I say this as preamble, lest the unsuspecting reader think otherwise from what follows. For liking such abundance does not mean that Criticus likes all individual instances of it equally or that he likes it to assert itself in all times and in all places. No, your dedicated Tory loves language but also and of course loves due decorum. Yet today, as linguists lament the vanishing of scores of obscure languages and the flattening out of local variation through the influence of communication, no one seems ready to deplore the virtual extinction of any concept of language decorum. Save Criticus.

G.B. Tennyson enunciates freely in the English Department at UCLA. He recently published a volume titled A Barfield Reader *(Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1999).*

By language decorum I do not mean the leveling out of linguistic differences but rather the maintenance of a common standard adhered to when one is speaking or writing *urbi et orbi,* to adapt a phrase. Especially speaking. A standard that stresses clarity, audibility, measure, proportion, pace, but without sacrificing emphasis and vigor and even individuality. A standard for civilized persons. No need to turn out any more Al Gores.

A few months back the highly regarded English novelist Beryl Bainbridge stirred up a bit of British bother when she declared that regional accents in Britain should be "wiped out" and that children should be required to take elocution lessons in school. The particular object of her scorn was the Liverpool accent known as "Scouse" which she herself grew up speaking. The term "Scouse," used both for a native Liverpudlian and his accent, derives from "lobscouse," a nautical stew of fish (usually "lob," which is pollock, but sometimes whale or walrus), potatoes and other vegetables, and sea biscuits or hardtack; breadscouse is the same without the fish. How the shortened form "scouse" became particularly attached to Liverpool is unknown, but it probably had to do with the seagoing nature of the place (the "Titanic" was registered as out of Liverpool) and perhaps from the inhabitants' fondness for the stew. Certainly the accent is itself something of a stew and, as Bain-

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bridge argues, rather distasteful. It emerged only in the mid- to late-nineteenth century when the influx of Irish fleeing the potato famine and Welsh and Scots moving to Liverpool's burgeoning commercial center all blended their accents with the local Lancashire accent into a new verbal *ragout.* Scouse is the accent of the Beatles, which should tell you what you need to know about it.

Thinking of Scouse led me to remember a quaint scene in Inverness from years agone. The late, serenely unflappable Madame Criticus and I were between trains and having a coffee in the station buffet. It was somewhat crowded, so we were joined at the table by an elderly gentleman in full highland regalia — tartan cloak, tam-o'-shanter, and shepherd's crook — along with what appeared to be his grandson, though the latter never spoke. I went off to check the tickets and timetable. When I returned some few minutes later I found Madame in lively converse with the old fellow. I sat there in mute astonishment at the conversation that went something like this:

Accent and class *are* linked, in America as well as in Britain, and it is difficult to separate the two.

Highlander: Errgh, garr, hraggh, coddy, frew, wggle. . . [Etc.]

Madame: Quite so. We're going on from here to Kyle of Lochalsh and the Hebrides.

Highlander: Grugg, inkh, broskee, arnch. . . [Etc.]

Madame: Yes, we live in California and have never been in Inverness before.

Highlander: Skrbt, sloch, ochle, drnkhg, clokch. . . [Etc.]

Madame: We'll go back to London, then fly home.

And so it went for some moments until we all parted for our separate trains. I expressed my astonishment to Madame at her ability to understand what must have been English but sounded like Scots Gaelic being shouted down the glens or across the sounds and firths of the Orkneys. "How did you do it?" "Oh," she replied. "I didn't understand a word he said. I just said the things that I knew about. I don't think he understood me either but just said what he knew about." That's one way of dealing with dialects.

IT WOULD not be Beryl Bainbridge's way. When she declared against Scouse she had just won the £10,000 W.H. Smith award for her sixteenth novel, *Master Georgie,* but she was roundly scolded in the press for her language elitism. One critic, and a Tory one at that, went so far as to suggest that Bainbridge must have been drunk when she made her remarks, which were in fact made on the occasion of her receiving the literary award. By way of justifying his assumption this critic noted that he had once met and been kissed "smack on the mouth" by a "very drunk" Beryl Bainbridge at a publisher's party merely because he complimented her on her writing. This emboldened him to think that she must therefore have been drunk when she made her remarks about accents, for she would never have said "anything so muddled" had she been sober. By a curious coincidence Criticus also once stood next to Beryl Bainbridge and she said nothing amiss; neither did she kiss me. To be sure this proximity came about because we were both standing in line to buy railway tickets at Paddington Station and I only recognized who she was because I had seen her the night before on television. Actually, she said nothing to me or to anyone except the ticket seller, but then she was not visibly drunk, only visibly chain-smoking what looked to be Player's Navy Cut or perhaps the even more lethal Capstan Full Strength. Good on yer, Miss B.

Certainly the dissenters to Bainbridge's complaint have some points to make. They argue that she has confused accent with class; that Scouse is really a dialect, not just an accent, hence not amenable to correction simply by elocution lessons; and that the richness of regional accents and dialects is a national treasure, citing as examples Prime Ministers like Gladstone, who allegedly spoke Scouse (which I seriously doubt: after all, the man went to Oxford and was born half a century before Scouse developed) and Lloyd George, who had a Welsh accent (which I seriously believe). I do not know whether Beryl Bainbridge has returned to this fray, but Criticus is prepared to side with her, at least in the main, and also to transfer her concerns across the water.

First of all, accent and class *are* linked, in America as well as in Britain, and it is difficult to separate the two. Shaw's Professor Higgins was engaging in only mild hyperbole when he said it was impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without making some other Englishman despise him. Americans would claim to be more broadminded and above such concerns. We deceive ourselves, for we all do make instant judgments when hearing someone speak for the first time. Such judgments may be favorable as well as unfavorable;

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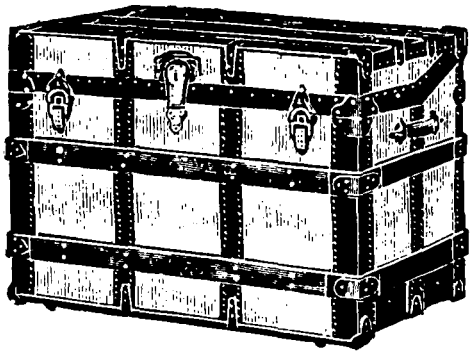
they may register a notion regarding social station and educational level; they may in some cases merely be an awareness of region and background; and of course they may eventually fade from our consciousness as we come to know people. But the notion that these things are inconsequential is risible, especially when combined with the argument that regional accents are to be treasured. How can we treasure them if we don't notice them? And if we notice them how can we not have ideas and opinions about them? And how can those opinions not at least sometimes be negative? In the case of Criticus they almost always are. I will switch channels or pound the mute button to avoid hearing certain accents — and certain people. Sometimes it's hard to know which annoys me most and which one, the person or the accent, has transferred itself to the other.



THE ARGUMENT that Scouse is a dialect and cannot be erased by elocution is disingenuous. I do not know enough Scouse to argue the question of whether it is truly a dialect, but even if it is, it is a dialect of English and it affects pronunciation of the language overall. Such pronunciation can be altered — corrected — by training. Beryl Bainbridge is herself an instance of shedding the pronunciation and the dialect through elocution lessons, which she undertook from age eleven. Obviously what she terms elocution lessons included as well insistence upon standard English grammar, vocabulary, and usage. But such training goes on in all school systems and has gone on for a long time. (I realize that this may not be true any longer in many American, especially Californian, public schools where any standard is seen as an infringement on students' "rights" or their "heritage" — as if the Spanish spoken by a five-year-old child of parents who had a third-grade education is a "heritage" to be preserved by the schools.) Traditionally at any rate schools taught correct grammar, including correct pronunciation, based on a uniform, dominant, educated usage. There is scarcely any other way to teach composition, though the elocutionary dimension may be downplayed or absent. Even Freshman Comp at Behemoth U. with its love of innovation and its obsession with race-class-gender issues still presupposes standard grammar and usage, except for the substitution of "gender free" terminology, such as "their" for "his" and, I should suppose, "The Founding Foreparents" for you know who.

Yes, there will always be some regional variation. Criticus was actually taught in elementary school as a matter of grammar that the plural of "you" was "you all," along with the "rule" that a child never said "Yes" or "No" to an adult unless it be followed by "Ma'am" or "Sir," as appropriate. But these are trifles. The grammar and spelling were uniform and carried with them certain inevitable consequences in pronunciation. We were obliged to memorize and recite, skills now so alien that there are college students who have never done either. These practices need to be revived and could be while still allowing some latitude for regional variation. Indeed, regional variation will persist no matter what, but schools could discourage such wholly unintelligible parochial speech as Scouse. Not that America has anything so regionally distinct as Scouse or as the many dialects of European continental languages. No, as usual, what is troubling in American speech is sloppiness, laziness, incoherence, and ignorance, to name a few.

This kind of lament is not peculiar to Bainbridge and Criticus. Only weeks after the brouhaha about Scouse, the *Los Angeles Times* somewhat surprisingly ran a piece about a new movement among east coast colleges and universities, especially women's colleges. (For some reason women's colleges are allowed to continue to exist even as the government bludgeons men's colleges into co-education; but that's a complaint for another time.) Starting at Mount Holyoke and taken up by Smith College and then many other elite eastern schools, the movement is called by such trendy names as "Speaking across the Curriculum," "Speaking and Writing," "Speaking across the University." What it really is is the old and once-thought discredited study known as Speech but this time distributed throughout various courses and not confined to a single department. Naturally the *Times* did not note this. Still, it is Speech after all, and one imagines that those who once taught in speech departments that were, as at UCLA, abolished as useless and old-fashioned are scratching their heads and wondering why they hadn't thought to sell the administration on the need for speech across the curriculum. They could have offered a high-enrollment freshman course that would have secured their empires for the foreseeable future.

It must be acknowledged here that the new style

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speech courses are not narrowly, or at schools like Smith perhaps not even substantially, concerned with elocution. They were generated by professors disturbed by their students' constant indulgence in "Mallspeak," also known as "Teenbonics." The problem is the limited, moronic vocabulary, the endless use of "like" and "you know," and an overall absence of organized and coherent discourse. Even so, the cure involves extensive public speaking, which in turn is going to require clarity in pronunciation, the capacity to project the voice, the confidence to address a group without faltering, and ultimately the ability to convince your auditors that you are intelligent and educated and that your argument has been thought through. It all sounds charmingly reminiscent of the great mediaeval trivium — grammar, rhetoric, and logic. Good to see you again.

BUT WE must not stop there, leaving the ability to speak clearly only to the pampered children of the rich. Where we really need this kind of instruction is back in K through 12 for the proles. Criticus recently had occasion to ring the DMV in Sacramento. At the informing end of the line was a young woman trying to be helpful but so mush-mouthed that she might as well have been speaking Scouse. Because I tired of asking her to repeat herself, I finally rang off and sought the information on the relevant web site. This young person was certainly not a graduate of Smith College, even the pre-speaking-course Smith, but she probably was a graduate of some high school (as who is not these days?). How much better than courses in sex education (which she probably knew about anyway since at least age eight) would have been one or two in elocution. A few "How Now Brown Cow" recitations would have served her far better than demonstrations with obscene-looking vegetables.

Being able to speak clearly even carries some practical advantages. One remembers the scene in *Singin' in the Rain* when the silent screen actress played by Jean Hagen has to say "I can't stand it," and it comes out gratingly (think Eleanor Clift) as "I cayant stayand it." No talkies for her. Instead it gives Debbie Reynolds her big break. Not that the aim of your everyday American Scouser would be an acting career, but even as an intelligible receptionist or telephonist, career prospects would be brighter. Who has not been baffled by rush-and-gush teen voices over public address systems or by telephone solicitors (if you're fool enough to answer such calls) who read their copy with such pronounced foreign accents that they might as well be reading it in their native Farsi? Forget the trumped up quizzes about the Constitution: a condition of gaining citizenship should be the ability to read aloud from a randomly selected passage of poetry so that native speakers can understand you. Three failures would result in deportation.

There is much that a program of mandatory speech instruction could do for the greater good. In the brave new world of Criticus-approved speech, there would still be room for some regional accents, but the standard to which all would aspire for public discourse would be what traditional speech teachers called General American, the supposedly accentless accent of radio and television broadcasting still encountered among many newsreaders. I note here that even minority radio and television reporters speak a reasonable General American rather than East Los Angeles or South Central speech. With one curious exception: by some unspoken accord Spanish surnamed broadcasters are permitted to fall into Spanish in the pronunciation of Spanish language names. This they do with frightening gusto, as though they were matadors taunting the bull. It is disturbingly dissonant to have an otherwise understandable voice suddenly break into a foreign sound and rhythm in mid-sentence, then resume standard speech. The greatest offender in this line is the radio newscaster Luis Torres, who pronounces his own name with such intensity that it sounds like the signal to attack. Until English-speaking announcers learn to pronounce the name of the German chancellor correctly, and none have, I think these explosions of Spanish should be halted. Other Criticus horror stories will appear in the upcoming annual summer Dog Days roundup column.

With the initiation of speech training, plus a halt to immigration, we might well see a nationwide improvement in communication of the sort that Beryl Bainbridge was hoping for in her country. Meanwhile, circumstances there are changing. According to an academic at Liverpool University, Scouse is now giving way to what is being called "estuary English," after the Thames estuary area. This is essentially a slightly moderated South London cockney, the sort of thing we have been compelled to listen to from Jamie Shea, NATO propagandist in the War of Clinton's Zipper. It is increasingly heard in British soap operas and, gasp! even on the BBC, which has gone in of late for regional accents, including some that they appear to have found in the Inverness train station. Worse, Clinton's poodle, Prime Minister Tony Blair, educated at a public (*i.e.* private) school, adopts a kind of estuary speech when he is appealing to the masses, which is often. For similar but slightly different reasons, Blair's master, President Bubba, early on took to referring to the Serbian province as "Kosava," not because that is the favored pronunciation in Arkansas, but because it is the pro-

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nunciation of the ethnic Albanians. Who says pronunciation does not matter?

To clinch my case, note the story of the man who woke up to his surprise in an Australian hospital room:

Patient to Nurse: Did I come here to die?

Aussie Nurse: No, you came yesterday. CPR

BOOKS

The End of Optimism?

by David F. Faustman

SINCE PUBLICATION of Phillip Howard's little classic *The Death of Common Sense* (reviewed in *CPR*, Spring, 1995), conservative writers seem to have declared the death of almost everything else, *e.g.*, our capacity for outrage, our sanity, even democracy. The three-part dirge conducted by William Bennett, Martin Gross, and Richard Newhaus is enough to make one want to load up on guns, chickens, and bottled water and move to Idaho. Can it be this bad?

The Death of Outrage

Bill Bennett, scribe of American virtue, chronicles the Clinton presidency's "deep corruption" and asks Bob Dole's question: "Where is the outrage?" The list of Clinton's "skullduggery, half-truths, stonewalling, breeches of ethics, and ... contempt for the law" includes:

- $100,000 in cattle futures
- Turning the White House travel office over to Arkansas cronies
- Improper acquisition of FBI files
- Appearance of subpoenaed papers in the White House living quarters
- Payoffs to Webster Hubble
- Campaign finance irregularities
- Chinese spies in the White House
- Gennifer Flowers, Paula Jones, Kathleen Willey, Monica Lewinsky (and recently, Juanita Broderick)
- Perjury/obstructions of justice.

Bennett systematically examines, and refutes, all of the arguments used to defend Clinton, "arguments" that "define us down," pose a "threat to our understanding of American self-government," and which represent "moral bankruptcy" that is "damaging our country, its standards and our self-respect." Defenders of Clinton "forget that the cost of raising the threshold of moral outrage is paid out over generations — and with compound interest." Bennett says the decadence and cynicism of the Clinton ethos threatens American democracy.

> In a self-governing and law-abiding nation, we must never allow ourselves to be lulled in into passive disgust or indifference ... we must never lose our sense, when appropriate, of outrage.

The Death of Outrage
Bill Clinton and the assault on American Ideals
William J. Bennett
The Free Press, 1998, 154 pages, $20, cloth

The End of Sanity
Social and Cultural Madness in America
Martin L. Gross
Avon Books, 1997, 314 pages, $24, cloth

The End of Democracy?
The Judicial Usurpation of Politics
Richard John Newhaus
Spence Publishing, 1997, 267 pages, $22.95, cloth

The End of Sanity

One explanation for the apparent moral apathy of the American people may lie in what Martin Gross describes as a "social and cultural madness" that distorts everything we do. The Old Establishment has, over the past few decades, been eclipsed by a "New Establishment" that has carried out "a potent attack on the nation's mind and morale."

> The New Establishment has all the tenets of a religion, or perhaps more accurately a cult. It preaches a specious goodness, and asks only that one give up one's mind and reason in exchange for modern salvation — gaining the reputation among one's peers for being "sensitive" or "concerned" .... The New Establishment has divided the nation into dozens of groups, each of which seeks surcease from (and even revenge against) the dominant ones ... The New Establishment thrives on class, ethnic, gender, and racial discord.

The pseudo-intellectual origins of the American New Establishment, according to Gross, are found in Freud and Marx, two

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now-discredited Germans who provided theories of "victimization." Before Freud, parents were considered "the protectors of children" and "the conduit through which they were civilized." Freud created the "concept of the young as victims" of the old. "Freud made victimization seem scientific," and therefore "self indulgence, self-pity and weakness ... eminently acceptable." Gross argues that society's "elites," using Freud as a starting place, have developed an unfortunate set of ideas about people and their relations with one another:

> [S]ociety is divided into two distinct groups — the psychologically repressed and their oppressors .... [T]he victims are unable to self-actualize because male-dominated Protestant American society has repressed them, making them feel inferior and thus less able to work, study, think, and succeed.

Marxism, "first cousin to Freudianism," is another "emotional mythology" that has "infiltrated the American psyche" with the maxim "the rich oppress the poor" and the demonstrably false notion that "if wealth were better distributed ... the poor would become richer."

> The constant drum beating of the New Establishment that poverty is a result of "bias" and "exploitation" and "sexism" and "racism," rather than the absence of education and good paying work, makes it an agent of failure.

EXAMPLES OF our "cultural madness" include American feminism (whose hypocrisy re Clinton is staggering), politically correct campus speech codes, multiculturalism, bilingualism, racial and gender quotas dressed up as "affirmative action," and sexual harassment law.

Gross harbors a special animus for the federal judiciary, which he calls an "anti-democratic oligarchy" that acts as the enforcer for the New Establishment, and which has yielded to "the blandishments of 'social individualism' — that individual desires, no matter how bizarre, are more important than those of the community — as the prime criterion of law."

'The End of Democracy?'

Father Newhaus has compiled the celebrated *First Things Debate*, essays from his original symposium on "the judicial usurpation of politics" and a representative sample "from the storm of controversy it provoked." The initial salvo by the editors of *First Things*, including Newhaus, Robert Bork, and Hadley Arkes, explores the "crises of legitimacy" of the federal judiciary. Cases enshrining abortion and assisted suicide, and curtailing the right to protest same, highlight an "entrenched pattern of government by judges," and prompt the question: "Whether we have reached or are reaching the point where conscientious citizens can no longer give moral assent to the existing regime?"

The intentional use of the word "regime" implicitly invokes the quip attributed to Jefferson that a little revolution every so often is a good thing, and provokes a vigorous retort from the likes of Bill Bennett, Bill Kristol, Gertrude Himmelfarb, and Norman Podhoretz. Patience, they counsel, lest the more volatile among us be encouraged to mount the barricades in protest of appointed-for-life nitwits like Ninth Circuit Justice Steven Reinhardt who never encountered a fetus or a terminally ill patient who didn't deserve death, but who would never harm a hair on a convicted murderer's head.

The book includes a few too many impenetrable essays on "neocons" vs. "theocons." The book is saved in the end, however, by a thoughtful piece by Newhaus, "The Anatomy of a Controversy," in which the debate over "legitimacy" of the courts is summarized and defended. (This book will be great reading for those who appreciate *CPR's* Mark Pulliam.)

SO: IS there still room for the unabiding optimism of Ronald Reagan, for his faith in the common sense of the middle class? Can we still believe in Lincoln's wisdom that you can't fool all of the people all of the time? Are things really worse now, or are we merely witnessing Fred Allen's maxim from the 1930s that at any given time in history "90 percent of everything is crud"? We should not forget that that means at least 10 percent is good and, such is the superiority of the good over the crud, that, even in the worst of times, 10 percent is enough to keep us functioning and even advancing.

It is probably true that human beings have always been awash in nonsense. It is probably also true that things are worse now than at times earlier in the century. Lincoln told us in the last century that a lot of people could always be fooled — maybe a few more now than then. The balance of power among the branches of government has clearly tipped, for now, toward the judiciary. We must believe, however, because we must, that people of common sense will prevail, that outrage still exists and that our democratic institutions will restore a balance to the courts.

Some people watch professional wrestling, some read the *National Enquirer*, some believe women can compete with men in combat, some believe what Bill Clinton says. But we're not all fools. That people are reading these three books proves it. CPR

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